

JANUARY 14, 1991 \$2.50

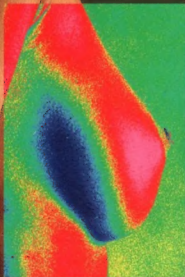
THE GULF: ELEVENTH-HOUR DIPLOMACY

TIME

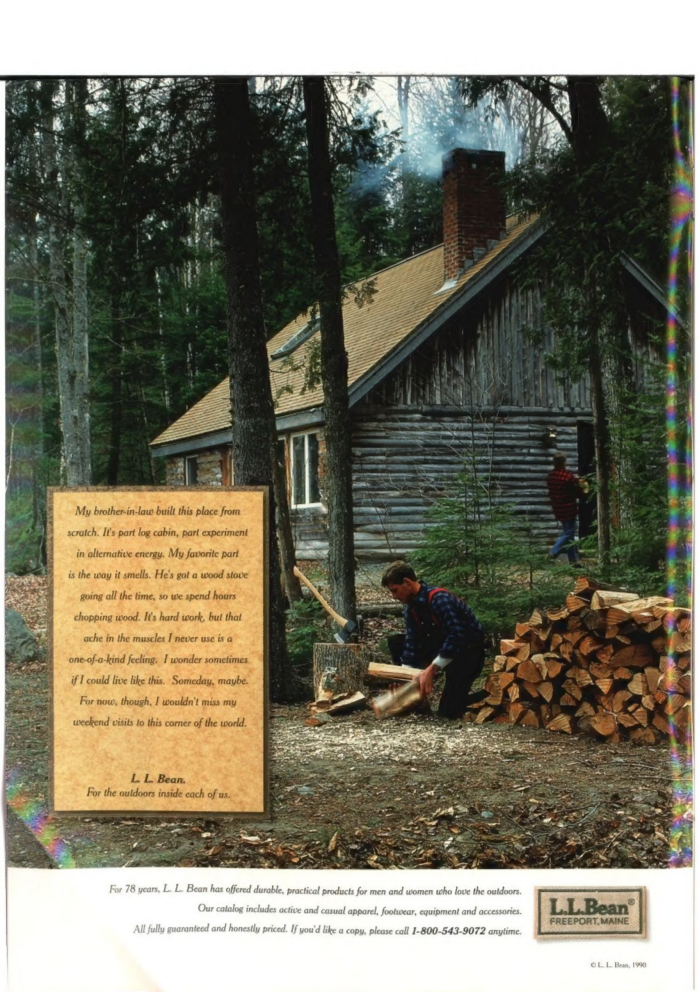
**One American woman
in ten will get**

BREAST CANCER

**Why—and what
can be done?**



724406

A photograph of a rustic log cabin nestled in a dense forest. A man in a blue plaid shirt and dark pants is kneeling in the foreground, chopping a log with an axe. A large pile of cut logs sits to his right. In the background, another person is visible near the cabin's entrance. Smoke rises from a brick chimney on the roof. The scene is framed by tall evergreen trees.

My brother-in-law built this place from scratch. It's part log cabin, part experiment in alternative energy. My favorite part is the way it smells. He's got a wood stove going all the time, so we spend hours chopping wood. It's hard work, but that ache in the muscles I never use is a one-of-a-kind feeling. I wonder sometimes if I could live like this. Someday, maybe.

For now, though, I wouldn't miss my weekend visits to this corner of the world.

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Nissan 300ZX

Best Sports/GT, \$21,000 - \$32,000

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Nissan Sentra XE

Best Coupe/Sedan, less than \$10,000

Honda CRX Si

Best Sports/GT, less than \$13,000

Honda Accord EX

Best Coupe/Sedan, \$10,000 - \$17,000

BMW M5

Best Coupe/Sedan, more than \$45,000

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Best Sports/GT, more than \$50,000

Mazda MX-5 Miata

Best Sports/GT, \$13,000 - \$21,000

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Nissan Motor Corporation in U.S.A.



TIME

THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

MEDICINE: Why is breast cancer epidemic among American women?

Researchers believe something in the Western way of life increases the risk of the malignancy. Could it be high-fat diets? A lack of research funds is thwarting efforts to find out. Meanwhile, inquiries into the genetics of the disease and new therapies are raising hopes for patients.

48

NATION: Is debate divisive? A constitutional battle looms over the march toward war

Ever since the beginning of the crisis, Bush has enjoyed a relatively free hand in the gulf. Last week Congress finally resolved to take up the debate over the merits of war and the prospects for peace. ► The U.S. and Iraq agree on a high-level tête-à-tête in Geneva.

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WORLD: One million Soviet Jews will head for Israel

They fulfill a Zionist dream, but how will they transform the nation? ► An exclusive look at the life and crimes of a Palestinian terrorist. ► War and agony in Somalia.

22**ENVIRONMENT: Fighting for Yosemite's future**

The sale of MCA to Matsushita stirs a debate over who should reap the profits from tourism in America's national parks.

46**BUSINESS: The recession dims the outlook for banks**

Already awash in bad loans, some of the largest and proudest U.S. lenders may have to merge to survive. The shaky health of the industry is hastening Washington's campaign to overhaul laws that have governed the financial system for more than half a century. ► Neil Bush is entangled in a new congressional investigation following the failure of a government-backed investment firm that bankrolled his oil-exploration company. ► Andrew Tobias on the practical benefits of volunteer work.

38**HEALTH: When a doctor carries the AIDS virus**

Growing public anxiety has prompted federal officials to consider a controversial shift in policy: asking medical workers to take tests for HIV infection.

57**ART: The prodigy who brought grace to English painting**

A show in Washington gives many Americans their first proper look at Anthony van Dyck, who set the tropes on which Gainsborough, Reynolds and even Sargent would continually draw.

58**VIDEO: If at first you don't succeed . . .**

The networks try, try again with a batch of mid-season replacements: a spy series from the creators of *China Beach*; the return of a famous vampire; and a sitcom with star power.

60**SCIENCE: What happened after the Big Bang?**

A new study of the nearby universe reveals giant clumps of galaxies surrounded by great voids. That may torpedo a leading idea of how the cosmos was formed.

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Cover: Photograph for
TIME by Tom Arma with
computer-enhanced inset

FROM THE PUBLISHER

Each issue of *TIME* is really two magazines. The magazine you read is the one made up of stories prepared by the editors from reporting around the world. The other magazine—the one you leaf through while looking for the stories—consists of paid ads. To maintain editorial integrity, the two are created independently by separate staffs working on different floors. Neither the journalists nor the advertising staff knows precisely what the others are doing, until the managing editor, executive editors and sales management all review the nearly finished product late in the week.

But the two parts have to combine seamlessly into one magazine, and that is where Charlotte Quiggle and Tony Strianse come in. They are the weekly working contact point between our editorial and business staffs. It is their job to plan the sequence of editorial and advertising pages to make one smoothly readable magazine—a high-pressure juggling act of dizzying complexity. Not only do the news stories change from one hour to the next, but so do the ads. In order to allow advertisers to reach readers more selectively, *TIME* is now published in more than 200 different U.S. editions and more than 100 international editions, each with its own geo-

graphic and demographic target audience and its own mix of ads.

Strianse starts the process by preparing a mock-up of the magazine that shows the tentative placement of each ad page. Meanwhile, Quiggle is given the editorial requirements for that week's issue. Then she and Strianse work the puzzle, trying to fulfill both the editors' needs and the advertisers' requests. As a proof for each page becomes available, it is pasted into position in a "dummy" version of the magazine, allowing the makeup mavens to see at a glance how ad and edit go together.

Often they don't. It's amazing how frequently the content of ads and the stories scheduled to appear next to them threaten to conflict or to evoke unintended responses from readers. Quiggle and Strianse have become expert at avoiding the juxtaposition of, say, an air-disaster story and an airline ad. They know that liquor ads do not keep easy company with stories on religious fundamentalists. When a conflict arises, the ad is usually moved. But sometimes things slip through. Both Quiggle and Strianse are still talking about the week they allowed an advertisement for pen-and-pencil sets to appear on the same page as an interview with Mother Teresa under the headline "A Pencil in the Hand of God."



Quiggle and Strianse puzzling out another issue

A high-pressure juggling act of dizzying complexity


Samuel A. Weitz

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SUPER BOWL M E M O R I E S

BY PETE ROZELLE, NFL COMMISSIONER 1960-89

A few years ago, after a rather stormy NFL owners meeting about the future site of some Super Bowl or other, I was struck by how the game had assumed such monumental proportions.

"Do you believe this has gotten so big?" a friend asked me.

I said "No" then, and I'll say it again now. Except today, with the silver anniversary game approaching, it's even bigger. For Super Bowl XXV, ABC is getting \$850,000 for one 30-second commercial. In the first AFL-NFL World Championship Game (as it was called then), CBS charged \$85,000 a minute for commercials, and NBC \$75,000. Also that first year, there were roughly 32,000 empty seats in Los Angeles Coliseum. Fortunately, those were the last empty seats we have had. Today it's the most coveted ticket for any event in America, and I'm proud to have been part of its growth and development.

Most people don't remember that for the first two years it wasn't even called the "Super Bowl." Its official, unwieldy handle was the AFL-NFL World Championship Game. That was my idea. I guess coming up with catchy names wasn't something I was very good at.

To be honest, I never liked the name "Super Bowl" because to me "super" was a corny cliché. But now I'm the first to admit I was mistaken. Remarkably, super takes on a totally different connotation when applied to this event. I think the name has played a big part in the game's success.

As it happened, the first game played under that name, Super Bowl III between the NFL Colts and the AFL Jets, really was Super. That's the one I like to call the Magic Game. It not only put the Super Bowl on the map, but also it made the game a permanent part of the American sports and entertainment consciousness.

I really did not care who won that year, but, with the NFL-AFL merger already planned, I was hoping we would have a close game. The Packers had won the 1967 and '68 games by 25 and 19 points, and the Colts were favored by 18.

After Namath and the Jets prevailed 16-7, the NFL owners were very upset, of course. But I was secretly pleased because I realized that this shocking turn of

events was going to do nothing but help pro football. By winning, the Jets proved the AFL teams belonged.

I can honestly say that there are only three Super Bowls in which I was rooting—silently, of course—for a team. I wanted the Packers to win in both Super Bowls I and II because my NFL loyalties were still strong...and I wanted the Steelers to win Super Bowl IX in January 1975 for the sake of Art Rooney, the finest, most decent man I ever knew, apart from my own father.

Game IX was the Steelers' first appearance in an NFL Championship Game of any kind after more than four decades of frustration. I am not ashamed to admit that I had tears of joy in my eyes when I presented the trophy to Art.

Another vivid memory concerns Super Bowl XV in New Orleans. I remember waking up in my hotel room the day of the game and seeing a big yellow ribbon our staff had hung around the Superdome with bows above the exits. If you remember, people had been wearing yellow ribbons in support of the hostages in Iran, and those hostages were released in Tehran just a few days before Super Sunday.

Game XX between the Bears and Patriots was memorable for a lot of reasons. The sadness was that Chicago owner George Halas was not there to see this great victory; my good friend and an NFL founder had died two years before.

I recall my daughter Anne Marie coming back from an evening in the French Quarter wearing a "ROZELLE" headband. Late in the 1985 regular season, I had ordered Bears quarterback Jim McMahon to stop wearing commercial headbands, and he reacted by wearing a headband with my name on it in the playoffs.

One of the toughest trophy presentations I had to make was to Al Davis after the Raiders' 38-9 rout of Washington in Super Bowl XVIII in January, 1984. We had been enmeshed in a court battle with Al over the Raiders' move to Los Angeles in 1982. As I was leaving the room, Raiders guard Mickey Marvin tapped me on the shoulder and said, "Not everyone here hates you." That eased the pressure.

All in all, it's been a great ride—from Super Bowl I to my last game as Commissioner in XXIII to now. ■

Pete Rozelle at Super Bowl XXI.

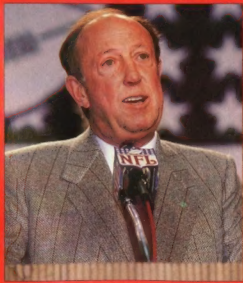


PHOTO BY AP/WIDEWORLD



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STARTS FRIDAY, DECEMBER 21

LETTERS

IS KUWAIT WORTH DYING FOR?

"The real justification for being in Saudi Arabia is to stop World War III before it starts."

Ben Harney
Spokane



Kuwait, as such, is not worth dying for [WORLD, Dec. 24]. However, as the object of the first truly international consensus to replace the fang and claw with law and equity, it is worth the ultimate sacrifice. The burden of leadership has fallen upon the U.S. May we prove worthy.

Bill McClellan
Rosenberg, Texas

Kuwaiti Finance Minister Sheikh Ali al-Khalifa al-Sabah reminisces about attending anti-Vietnam War demonstrations at Berkeley in the '60s. Thousands of American men and women died trying to save the South Vietnamese from tyranny. Now Kuwait is under the boot of a tyrant, and this shameless sheikh expects American soldiers, once the object of his contempt, to die in order to restore his privileges. Give this hypocrite a gun and send him to the front.

David Govett
Menlo Park, Calif.

Your story gave me a chilling sense of déjà vu. Some of us are old enough to remember the pacifist war cry "Why die for

Danzig?" No one died for Danzig. But how many millions of people perished because we failed to stop Hitler on his first conquest? We are not in Saudi Arabia to protect our supply of oil. The real justification for being in Saudi Arabia is to stop World War III before it starts.

Ben Harney
Spokane

Most of the Kuwaiti officials and citizens you interviewed were overly optimistic about their country's future. As a Kuwaiti, I leave some room for reality. Because of rapid growth over a short period of time, the different sectors of Kuwait society lack cohesion. The problems associated with this disunity, including nepotism, may not be overcome when the "new Kuwait" comes into existence.

Abdul Lateef Mohammad al-Khalefi
St. Louis

If 200,000 American troops could sit tight in Germany for 40 years to contain Soviet aggression, then why can't 280,000 American troops sit tight in Saudi Arabia for 40 years to contain Iraqi aggression?

Don Steinke
Vancouver, Wash.

Kuwait freely supported, housed, educated and fed all the refugees it received from Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, Egypt, Jordan and India when their own countries could not or would not sustain them. They were allowed to work and prosper and send their earnings out of the country to their real homes. Where else in the world has such openhandedness and opportunity been offered to so many by so few? Kuwait is worth dying for, and more.

Lubna al-Shaya
Shamiya, Kuwait

Correction

In the report "Washington's Mother Christmas" on First Lady Barbara Bush [NATION, Dec. 24], we incorrectly identified the White House pastry chef. His name is Roland Mesnier.

Canada's Contribution

The reference to Canada in your article about the costs of Operation Desert Shield, "Is Uncle Sam Being Suckered?" [WORLD, Dec. 24], is incomplete and therefore misleading. Along with the \$66 million allocated specifically to assist countries affected by the gulf crisis, Canada is making a significant military contribution: three naval ships (two destroyers and a supply ship) and a squadron (18) of CF-18 Hornets. In total, 1,800 members of the Canadian armed forces are stationed in the gulf.

Derek H. Burney, Ambassador
Canadian Embassy
Washington

Cars You Can Park Anywhere

TIME's piece praising the popular, efficient microcars of France failed to note all their flaws [LIVING, Dec. 10]. Because of their size, these midsize vehicles pose many hazards for other motorists. One furious cabdriver in Paris told me that minicar drivers squeeze in front of and cut off other motorists on crowded side streets.

Kirby Harbeck
Pittsburgh

How is the woman driver shown in your photo of a microcar supposed to extricate herself from the vehicle? Her side of the car is smack-dab against the front of a parked auto; the passenger side is also wedged in. Is there an ejector?

William A. Grossfield
North Hollywood, Calif.

Some microcars have side doors, but the one we pictured, the Junior, does not. The entire front section, including the windshield, lifts up on hinges. If you can stick your foot out, you can eject yourself without too much trouble.

The Latest on Madonna

True to form, pop star Madonna has once again stirred up controversy [PEOPLE, Dec. 17]. "Your recent portrayal of Madonna as hero and winner failed both her and your readership. She won a stunning victory over generally tough journalism," wrote Bruce Morton of Houston. Stuart Gitzes of Culver City, Calif., has a phrase for it: "media groveling." From suburban Chicago, Martha Heck commented, "This is not art. This is a racket." Though about 75% of the readers who wrote were down on the Material Girl, she still has her followers. Becky Digenan of Midlothian, Ill., was thrilled: "I applaud your article. Although many people find Madonna offensive, her fans love her outrageousness. It is great to have you recognize her 'blond ambition.'"

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GRAPEVINE

By DAVID ELLIS / Reported by Linda Williams



Shevardnadze's Final Favor

Just before he angrily resigned as Soviet Foreign Minister, Eduard Shevardnadze went out of his way to help his friend James Baker with a problem in Central America. The Secretary of State suspected that leftist guerrillas in El Salvador had acquired sophisticated Soviet SA-7 and SA-14 shoulder-held anti-aircraft missiles to use against the U.S.-backed government. Baker gave his counterpart a photo of a seized

launching tube, and Shevardnadze promised to investigate. In their last meeting in Houston, Shevardnadze informed Baker that the missiles were part of a shipment sent to Nicaragua in 1986. Armed with that information, Bush Administration officials demanded an explanation from the Nicaraguan military, which is still controlled by the Sandinistas. They admitted that the missiles came from their stock but claimed the shipment was not "officially" sanctioned.

The G.O.P. Looks West

Republican organizers say the one person holding back the choice of San Diego as the site of the party's 1992 convention is—George Bush. The transplanted Texan is known to want to hold his coronation in Hous-

ton. But G.O.P. advisers contend that having the event in California could boost Bush's chances for carrying the state, which he won by a margin of just 3.5% in 1988. Thanks to its population boom, the Golden State will provide 54 of the 270 electoral votes needed to win the presidency in 1992.

Return of the Truth Seeker

More than 2 million people bought the 1974 book *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance*, in which author Robert Pirsig discoursed on philosophy, the psyche and values. After a 16-year silence, Pirsig has now turned in the manuscript for a follow-up that could reach booksellers by autumn. His publisher, Morrow, has gambled an estimated \$2.3 million advance that many of the readers touched by the first work would rush to buy the second. In *Lila*, Pirsig chronicles a journey undertaken by Phaedrus, whom readers may recognize as Pirsig's alter ego in the earlier book. Phaedrus meets Lila in a bar and takes a sailboat ride with her up the Hudson River. Pirsig's agent describes the journey as a search for the "metaphysics of quality."

Breathe Easy, Nuke Workers

Sandia National Laboratories in Albuquerque has been busy developing nuclear weapons ever since World War II. With the cold war over, lab planners shelled out \$900,000 to hire Being First Inc., a consulting team from Berkeley, to help redefine Sandia's mission. But the consultants' New Age methods have produced grumbling among the lab's 8,500 employees. In one stress-reduction seminar, employees were asked to lie on the floor in a dark room for deep-breathing exercises. Lab officials insist that such efforts will help persuade their federal overseers that Sandia is keeping up with the times. "We want to be the most cost-effective and the most innovative in our management style," says Dan Hartley, whose title is vice president for corporate-change management.

THE NO SUGAR COATING PRESCRIPTION



VACLAV HAVEL

Czechoslovakia's President bluntly told his citizens to expect bitter hardship: "What a year ago seemed to be a dilapidated house is in fact a ruin." As the country rapidly moves to free markets, he admitted, "inflation will grow despite all measures designed to curb it."

THE ENOUGH ALREADY ADVISORY



DAVID DUKE

The race-baiting Louisiana legislator who embarrassed mainstream politicians last year with a surprisingly strong showing in a Senate primary now plans to run for Governor. Will the state's depressed economy give the former Klansman a free ride to respectability?

SHOP TILL YOU DROP CITATION



DAVID FARQUHAR

After a briefing with the British Prime Minister on gulf troop deployments, the RAF wing commander visited a used-car showroom. As he browsed, secret documents and a laptop computer were stolen from his parked car. The papers were recovered, but the laptop is still missing.

THE WEIRD SCIENCE PRIZE



BELCHINGS BOVINE

The government is paying \$210,000 to find out whether burping cows contribute to global warming. Researchers will strap monitors near the cud-chewing creatures' mouths to measure how much methane they emit. Flatulence is considered a comparatively minor source.

FOOTNOTES FROM THE FRONT

An up-to-the-minute briefing on the Persian Gulf crisis

RAISING THE FLAG

Concerned that the Saudis might somehow view U.S. troops as an occupying force, some overzealous field commanders had ordered troops to remove flag patches from their uniforms. But the American Civil Liberties Union protested to Defense Secretary Dick Cheney about a potential infringement of First Amendment rights. Since then, the Stars and Stripes have quietly appeared.



SORRY, THE PARKING LOT IS FULL

How large is the military-aircraft presence in Saudi Arabia? One indication: the Pentagon was forced to turn down a Dutch offer to send a squadron of F-16s to the area because there is no space left on any air base for the planes.



A TAXING PROBLEM

Senate minority leader Bob Dole plans to introduce a bill this month in Congress that will waive interest charges for gulf-based soldiers who can't complete their tax returns by April 15. Its officials recognize the problem but say legislation is needed to allow the exemptions.



THE WAR DIVIDEND

The Defense Department has seized upon the gulf crisis as an excuse to expand the 1,000-sq.-mi. Fort Irwin, a high-tech desert-training facility in Southern California, by some 390 sq. mi. Environmentalists pledge to stall any such action.



ORDER AMONG THIEVES

Intelligence sources say the sacking of Kuwait took place under an unwritten "looting hierarchy." The new Iraqi Governor of Kuwait got first crack at the treasures stored in royal palaces, while commanders looted the residences of businessmen. Support units were allowed only into ordinary homes, which they stripped of vcrs, refrigerators and bathroom fixtures.



TIME/JANUARY 14, 1991

On the Fence

The President says he can take America to war without asking Congress. The lawmakers disagree—but most would rather not take a public stand at all.

By RICHARD LACAYO



In the Persian Gulf two massive armies squared off across miles of desert sand as the Jan. 15 deadline for Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait drew nearer. But with

the world anxiously awaiting the outcome of this week's last-chance meeting between U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz, a different battle was brewing back in Washington. This fight was over constitutional prerogatives and political power. The burning question at the center of it all: Could President Bush send U.S. troops into battle without congressional approval?

The showdown over that issue was surprisingly long in coming. Congress was in recess last August when Bush dispatched the first troops to Saudi Arabia, and the lawmakers had little to say in September and October when they were busy running for re-election. Only after the November elections, as Bush doubled U.S. troop strength and successfully pressed the U.N. to adopt its Jan. 15 ultimatum, did a few Senators and Representatives speak up. The urgency of participating in a major national decision finally came home last week as the 102nd Congress convened in Washington for the first time. Its members faced the challenge not only of injecting their voice into the process but also of deciding whether that voice should support or oppose the President's threat of imminent military action.

Asserting his constitutional role as Commander in Chief, George Bush has made it clear that he regards the decision to go to war as his alone. The debate that erupted in both chambers last week was a sure sign that after months of holding their fire, many of the 535 representatives of the American people disagreed not only with the President but with their own leadership on that question. Barely half an hour after the Senate's opening session was gavelled to order, Iowa Democrat Tom Harkin upset the plans of majority leader George Mitchell to delay a floor fight over U.S. policy. When Mitchell proposed to the chamber that no resolutions on the gulf should be

submitted before Jan. 23 unless the leadership approved, Harkin leaped to his feet. War is "being talked about in coffee shops, in the workplace and in the homes," the Iowa Democrat declared. "Now is the time and here is the place to debate."

Harkin wanted to introduce a resolution co-sponsored by fellow Democrat Brock Adams of Washington that would

prohibit Bush from attacking Iraqi forces without "explicit authorization" from Congress. Mitchell looked surprised and angry. Though for weeks he had been asserting in public that only Congress has the constitutional power to declare war, he was anxious to avoid a debate before the Jan. 9 meeting between Baker and Aziz in Geneva. "This is the place," he replied to Harkin, then



THE CONSTITUTION

The President shall be commander in chief of the Army and Navy of the United States.

—ARTICLE II
SECTION 2



added, "I don't think it's the time." But among the rank and file, the attitude was "If not now, when?"

By the next day, Mitchell had acquiesced. A full-fledged debate on the Harkin-Adams resolution began in the Senate, where Massachusetts Democrat Edward Kennedy pointedly warned, "We have not seen such arrogance in a President since Watergate." The fight spread to the House, despite Speaker Tom Foley's efforts to contain it. Democrats Richard Durbin of Illinois and Charles Bennett of Florida announced that they had enlisted 51 supporters for a resolution similar to the one Harkin and Adams had introduced in the Senate. Though neither resolution would be binding, both represent a clear message to the President that he must make Congress a partner to any decision to use force.

The congressional leadership's reluctance to challenge the President reflected the fears of legislators from both parties. Many dovish lawmakers prefer to sit on the fence as long as it remains unclear whether

the military option can succeed at acceptable cost. Though some may loudly question White House policy, few have ventured any on-the-record challenge. That suits the President just fine. Bush says he is willing to continue "consulting" with Capitol Hill leaders, but he has made no effort to seek outright congressional approval for his push toward war. His concern, as he explained to TIME in an interview published last week, is that anything less than an overwhelming endorsement of his policy by Congress would convince Saddam that the U.S. is divided and therefore reluctant to fight.

Many in Congress agree. "It is awfully difficult for us to do anything of substance without creating the impression of congressional and national divisiveness," says Indiana Democratic Representative Lee Hamilton. "The fact is, in an instance like this, Congress operates on the margin." The reasons for that may be more political than patriotic. If Bush opts for war—and if Iraq is quickly dislodged from Kuwait at acceptable cost—the President's popularity will skyrocket. A Congress that tries to

thwart him now could later appear guilty of unseemly partisanship. Dovish Democrats in particular would see themselves labeled once again as wimps in the arena of global politics.

But there are dangers in silence as well. If Bush hopes to convince Saddam that the country is behind its President, no move would send a stronger signal than a congressional declaration of war. If war turns disastrous, moreover, a Congress that had done nothing to deter the President would be vulnerable to charges that it had let down the people it purports to represent. Georgia Democratic Senator Sam Nunn warns that once troops go into battle, it will be too late for Congress to be arguing the propriety of war. "The time for debate," he insists, "is before that occurs."

To a large extent, the hesitations of Congress echo the ambivalence of the American public. Most polls show that a majority of Americans support the U.S. goal of expelling Iraq from Kuwait. Yet the American people are divided over the prospect of rushing into war on the timetable set by the President. Many members of Congress returned to Washington last week reporting that letters from their constituents strongly favored giving sanctions more time to work and urged the lawmakers to get into the act.

Whatever the political consequences, the Constitution does grant Congress—and Congress alone—the power to declare war. The reason was clearly explained by James Madison, a key framer of that document who went on to become President. "The Constitution supposes what the history of all governments demonstrates," wrote Madison in 1798, "that the Executive is the branch of power most interested in war and most prone to it. It has accordingly with studied care vested the question of war in the Legislature."

Although Bush claims to be a "strict constructionist" when it comes to the Constitution—meaning that he respects the original intentions of those who wrote the document—he prefers to emphasize the passage that designates the President as Commander in Chief of the armed forces. Many Presidents have relied on that provision to initiate quick military action without congressional approval. Bush's staff members like to point out that in the country's 200-year history, Presidents have sent American soldiers abroad 211 times, though Congress has declared war on only six occasions.* But those expeditions rarely involved massive troop deployments or a prolonged buildup to war. The gulf, in contrast, is a textbook case of when Congress should be a part of the decision: speed is not essential, and the stakes are high—very high.

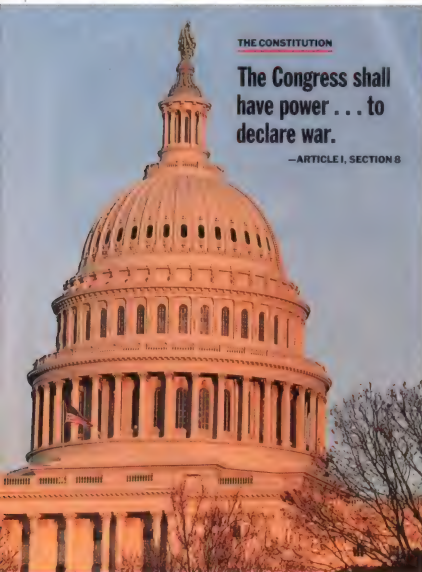
Nor is the case for involving Congress merely academic. Vietnam is now regarded as a warning that disaster awaits any

*The Tripolitan War, 1801; the War of 1812; the Mexican War, 1846; the Spanish American War, 1898; World War I, 1917; World War II, 1941.

THE CONSTITUTION

The Congress shall have power . . . to declare war.

—ARTICLE I, SECTION 8



President who leads the country into a lengthy war without the support of Congress. Even hawks on Capitol Hill say that in the event of an extended and bloody struggle in the gulf, it will be crucial for the President to have Congress on record as with him from the outset. "If you want Congress in on the landing," says House Democrat Stephen Solarz of New York, who supports the use of force against Saddam, "you had better have Congress in on the takeoff."

With debate under way at last in both houses, the question becomes just what kind of action Congress should take. One unlikely prospect is that it could offer the President a blank check to pursue his current policies. To that end, the White House began preparing a draft resolution for Congress that would urge "continued action" by the President to fulfill U.N. mandates calling for Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait.

Few members of Congress expect Bush to get that kind of green light. But neither does there appear to be any enthusiasm for invoking the 1973 War Powers Resolution, which instructs a President to withdraw troops 60 days after they are dispatched unless Congress approves the deployment or grants an extension. No President has ever recognized the constitutionality of that Vietnam-era resolution, and Congress has given up hope that it could use such a slender thread to reel in the massive military machine in the gulf.

Congress could pass resolutions supporting further diplomacy or urging more patience in pursuing the embargo. In either case, lawmakers would face political humiliation—and a full-fledged constitutional crisis—should the President decide to ignore them. But Bush may find his maneu-

vering room constrained by political expediency as well as constitutional forms: no President wants to risk taking on the whole responsibility for a U.S. war by himself.

Dictatorships are given to boasting that they embody the will of an undivided people. That claim is always a sham—and certainly not one that any democracy can or should aspire to. But one of the ironies of a confrontation with a foreign potentate is that it brings with it a temptation to behave like him. The unimpeded power of a dictator can look enviable to an American President when the prospect of war brings with it the need to convince an enemy of this nation's unity and resolve. If George Bush is succumbing to that temptation now, only Congress can persuade him—or compel him—to resist it. —Reported by Hays Gorey and Bruce van Voorst/Washington

Rising—but Still Muted—Dissent

Congress was just beginning to debate the Administration's gulf policy last week, but thousands of Americans have been voicing their antiwar views for months at marches, teach-ins and vigils around the country. With Jan. 15 approaching, protest organizers are hoping to ignite a bonfire of dissent against any U.S. military action. Said Dennis Murphy, an antiwar demonstrator in Charlotte, N.C.: "These politicians are the people who gave us Vietnam, Watergate, the deficit, the savings and loan crisis, and 'Read my lips.' Are we supposed to stand back and say, 'Oh, go ahead and do what you want to'? Not this time."

But the protest movement so far lacks any firm central direction. Some activists are having trouble linking up across the country—or even across town. Still, the antiwar cause has become strong enough to rally thousands of people coast to coast. They represent an unusual and surprising broad cross section of Americans that includes student activists, relatives of soldiers, Vietnam veterans, middle-class professionals and organizers of the inner-city poor. Their general message: Let economic sanctions fight Saddam Hussein for now; the nation has too many pressing problems at home to wage a military battle overseas.

The antiwar movement appears to be growing steadily. Last fall the Military Families Support Network was born after University of Wisconsin professor Alex Molnar—the father of a Marine in Saudi Arabia—wrote an open antiwar letter to President Bush in the *New York Times*. The Network began a storefront operation in a Milwaukee suburb with one phone. Today the office has five phones, three computers, a fax machine, two full-time staffers—and 4,000 member families.

Last month in Chicago a march by 65 labor, peace, environmental, religious and political groups drew more than 4,000 people, the largest protest of its kind in the city since the Vietnam War. At Boston's busy Downtown Crossing area, a 12-ft. by 4-ft. antiwar banner attracted so many signatures that



Demonstrators outside the Capitol: trying to unplug the ears of decision makers

four more strips of cloth had to be added. On college campuses around the country, teach-ins and demonstrations were interrupted only by the holiday break.

Some peace groups are beginning to battle local radio and TV stations that refuse to sell air time for antiwar spots. In San Francisco a computer networking system is trying to link up protesters around the country. In Atlanta civil rights groups are working hard to transform Jan. 15—Martin Luther King's birthday—into a Peace with Justice day.

The date heralds what the antiwar groups hope will be the start of an intensive peace campaign. The Military Families Support Network will begin a vigil the day before in front of the White House, and the Women's Peace Group will start a fast. On Jan. 19 and 26, rallies and marches are planned for the streets of the capital. Says Massachusetts activist Tekla Lewin: "George Bush and his advisers are doing everything they can to plug their ears. This will be a way to get heard." The sound is still far from deafening—but it does keep growing louder. ■

Last Chance To Talk

The U.S. and Iraq finally agree to meet—but peace remains elusive

By LISA BEYER



If quantity were any substitute for quality, the gulf crisis might have already been resolved by diplomatic means. Last week brought a flurry of summits, tête-à-

têtes, initiatives and trial balloons, all aimed at averting a war over Kuwait that otherwise looked imminent. The European Community met in Luxembourg. Jordan's King Hussein shuttled around Europe. A former aide to French President François Mitterrand tried his luck in Baghdad, and Libya's Muammar Gaddafi convened his own Arab confab. Most significant, after weeks of petty dickering over when to get together, the U.S. and Iraq finally agreed to a high-level meeting in Geneva this week, their first since the confrontation erupted on Aug. 2.

For all that diplomatic movement, however, there was little forward progress. The bottom-line positions of the antagonists remained fixed at cross-purposes. Washington and its allies say flatly that Iraq must leave Kuwait without conditions. The Iraqis say Kuwait is theirs forever—except, perhaps, if Israel gives up the occupied territories and Syria quits Lebanon. "I really hope we can find a peaceful and political solution," U.S. Secretary of State James Baker said in a TV interview last week. But, he added, "I'm frankly not as optimistic about that possibility now as I was before Christmas."

The military planners were hardly counting on the politicians for an eleventh-hour reprieve. Having already conscripted much of Iraq's able-bodied adult population into the armed forces, Baghdad last week began drafting all 17-year-old males. According to the Pentagon, Saddam Hussein poured an additional 20,000 troops into the Kuwaiti theater. That brought the total Iraqi force there to 530,000; the U.S. and its allies will have 630,000 troops in



Baker: the U.S. insists its man will simply tell the Iraqis to leave Kuwait or face war



Aziz: Iraq replies that if Washington offers no more, the meeting will last five minutes

place by mid-February. Bracing for a battle that might reach all the way to Baghdad, the Iraqi government advised foreign diplomats to leave the capital and to set up temporary missions in the city of Ramadi, 60 miles to the west.

Meanwhile the anti-Saddam coalition continued to cover the Saudi sands with soldiers and bristling weaponry. The Saudi government belatedly distributed gas masks and evacuation maps to the country's citizens. NATO dispatched 42 jet fighters from Italy, Germany and Belgium to Turkey, which shares a 200-mile border with Iraq. Officially, the contingent's purpose is to help defend Turkey in the event of an Iraqi assault. But the airplanes could also reinforce the threat of a second front opening up in Iraq's north.

The booster for Turkey and other allied preparations were meant not only to ensure a successful war effort but also to try to avert the battle by frightening Saddam into retreat. Bush's brinkmanship strategy assumes three things: 1) Saddam wants to survive, 2) he can change his mind if he thinks his survival depends on it, and 3) he will not act until the gun is at his head, with the hammer cocked and the trigger finger already squeezing.

At the same time, Washington knows it must not appear overeager to fire the first round; hence the latest offer of talks. Orig-

inally, President Bush proposed that Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz meet with him in Washington, after which U.S. Secretary of State Baker would confer with Saddam in Baghdad. But Saddam cleverly offered to receive Baker on Jan. 12, just three days before the deadline the U.N. has established for Iraq to leave Kuwait or face eviction by force. Bush replied that Saddam was trying to stretch out the grace period and insisted on an appointment on or before Jan. 3. Baghdad complained in response that protocol demanded that Saddam choose the meeting time, since he is senior to Baker.

Once Jan. 3 came and went, both parties could be accused of rejecting what Bush called "the final step for peace" because of a trilling squabble over dates. Anxious not to be seen as the side that blinked, the Bush Administration offered what was supposed to look like a totally new idea: a Baker-Aziz meeting in Europe.

That plan, however, had its own handicap. Washington's rationale for the originally proposed Baker-Saddam meeting was that the Iraqi leader, counseled only by sycophants who were reluctant to bring him bad tidings, was not getting the message that the U.S. was dead serious about taking him on. The tough-talking Baker was to deliver that news. But now the Secretary is to meet only with one of the "syc-



Waiting game: In Saudi Arabia, U.S. Marines pause atop an armored vehicle during live-firing exercises

The military goal is not only to prepare for a war but also to prevent one by scaring Iraq out of Kuwait.

phants." "You're talking to the monkey, you're not talking to the organ-grinder himself," lamented Les Aspin, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee. The encounter with Saddam might yet come off. Bush last week ruled out such a meeting. But should the Iraqis, after a smooth Baker-Aziz get-together, invite Baker to Baghdad, Washington would find it difficult to decline.

If Baker and Aziz stick to their publicly stated agendas, it is difficult to imagine how their meeting will achieve anything. Aziz said last week he would use the talks to press the cause of the Palestinians, a subject Washington refuses to link formally to the gulf crisis. Washington meanwhile continued to insist that Baker would offer Aziz nothing more than an ultimatum: Leave Kuwait, or lose it in war. "There will be nothing in our message indicating that we are ready to float any kind of deal," said a senior Bush Administration official. If that is the case, said an Iraqi official, "the meeting will last only five minutes."

Diplomatic probes were also coming from the Europeans. At an emergency session in Luxembourg late last week, the E.C. foreign ministers signaled their own interest in talking with Iraq. That meeting had been proposed by Germany and seconded by France, both of which are particularly worried that options for peace have been neglected in the effort to gird for battle. "War in the gulf," said German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, "is by no means unavoidable."

The emergence of a separate E.C. initiative inevitably raised concerns about a rift developing within the anti-Saddam coalition. Such a split might leave the hard-line U.S. and Britain, which acts as the brakes on the E.C.'s free-lance tendencies,

heading up one side and France and Germany, which have shown an impulse to dangle rewards as a means of enticing Iraq's withdrawal, leading the other. Both U.S. and E.C. officials deny that there is any divergence of opinion, and indeed the coalition does look solid for now.

The E.C. foreign ministers underscored that point in their communiqué last week, rejecting "any initiative tending to promote partial solutions," a reference to a less than complete withdrawal by Iraq. They also disapproved of attempts to link an Iraqi pullout to "other problems," meaning the Israeli-occupied territories and Lebanon. The foreign ministers stressed, however, that the E.C. is committed to contributing "actively to a settlement" of those issues once the current crisis has unraveled. That was merely a bolder version of the Bush Administration's own doublespeak on the topic of linkage.

To some extent, France's push for a separate E.C. effort reflects its penchant for pursuing a separate path, whatever the destination. That tendency was evident in the trip to Baghdad last week of Michel Vauzelle, a former spokesman for Mitterrand and head of the French Parliament's foreign affairs committee. Vauzelle insisted he was not representing Mitterrand, but the President did publicly approve of the mission. In any case, according to an official Iraqi report, Vauzelle's session with Aziz came to nothing.

The French fondness for *la différence* was also manifest in a peace plan Paris unveiled in Luxembourg. It contained two elements that are offensive to Washington: 1) the implication that Baghdad need only promise to leave Kuwait to forestall

an attack, and 2) an implied linkage of the kind Saddam seeks—that is, a guarantee that once the pullout is complete, all outstanding issues of the region will be addressed in an international forum. Apparently, however, Iraq did not see a rift that was exploitable: at week's end Aziz turned down an invitation from the E.C. ministers for a separate meeting.

Other recent diplomatic efforts are still more objectionable to the Bush Administration and are thus unlikely to bring meaningful results. King Hussein peddled his proposed solution during his spin through Europe. He offered a face-saving plan that might, for instance, allow Saddam to retain the strategically placed Bubiyan and Warbah islands, as well as the tip of the banana-shaped Rumaila oilfield that dips slightly into

Kuwait from Iraq. Washington says a liberated Kuwait could make these and any other concessions to Baghdad it chooses but vehemently opposes rewarding Iraq's aggression with such promises before a pullout.

The oddest assemblage of would-be peacemakers gathered last week in the Libyan seaside town of Misurata. Voicing fears of a Third World War, Libyan leader Gaddafi persuaded Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and Syrian President Hafez Assad to meet with him and the military ruler of the Sudan, Lieut. General Omar Hassan Bashir. While Egypt and Syria are firmly in the anti-Saddam camp, Libya and the Sudan have tended to sympathize with Baghdad. According to a Mubarak confidant, nothing was accomplished at Misurata, but the Egyptian and Syrian Presidents may have convinced their counterparts to adopt a more critical line on Iraq's behavior in Kuwait. Still, it is unlikely to affect peace prospects, since neither the Libyan leader nor the Sudanese holds any sway over Saddam.

Nor does anyone else, apparently. The problem remains what it was when Bush first proposed a Baker-Saddam meeting: the Iraqi leader is just not getting the message that the U.S. is serious about sending in its formidable Desert Shield battalions to enforce the U.N. ultimatum. According to a source close to Saddam, it isn't that the Iraqi President doesn't understand Washington but that even at this late date he strongly doubts that Bush will actually resort to force. "He doesn't feel he is in a weak position," said the source. In that case, the meeting in Geneva may be short indeed. —*Reported by Dean Fischer/Cairo, J.F.O. McAllister/Washington and Adam Zagorin/Luxembourg*

Fencing In the Messengers

The U.S. press and the Pentagon square off over unprecedented limits on news coverage of a potential gulf battlefield

By WILLIAM A. HENRY III



Ever since the Vietnam War, many military officers have contended that U.S. troops in combat face two foes: one on the battlefield, the other in the news media. In this

view, reporters are more interested in probing for contradictions between official statements and the testimony of footsore grunts than in emphasizing any underlying unity of purpose. They seek out graphic images of suffering, invading the privacy of victims and allowing emotion to obscure larger concerns of national policy. Above all, they may be so skeptical about war in general, or a current war in particular, that they do not root for the American side. Journalists regard this characterization as unfair, but audiences may not be so sure. The U.S. public seemed unperturbed when the Pentagon hindered American reporters in covering the invasions of Grenada and Panama.

As the likelihood of combat has risen in the Persian Gulf, where battlefield conditions and terrain would make military assistance a necessity for reporters, distrust between the brass and the press has blazed anew. Despite repeated contacts with news executives who believe they made their concerns clear, the Pentagon has expanded its proposed ground rules for the behavior of journalists on any gulf battlefield from one page to six. Even after a promise of revision following a heated session with about 60 senior Washington journalists late last week, the Pentagon seems firm in its intention: to impose unprecedented restrictions on where reporters may go, whom they can talk to under what conditions, and what they can show of combat. Says ABC News Washington bureau chief George Watson: "Literally interpreted, the proposed rules say you couldn't take a picture of a wounded soldier. It's not possible to cover a war without showing casualties."

Initially the most attention-grabbing restriction was a Pentagon fitness test for reporters, involving sit-ups, push-ups and a 1.5-mile run. The idea was that before being certified for combat coverage, a journalist would have to demonstrate that he or she would not slow down troops. The test, never before attempted in any U.S. conflict, prompted much eyeball rolling and jollity in newsrooms across the nation. But in Saudi Arabia, where zealous military officers put the proposal into practice, most correspondents passed and nearly all said the rule had practical value in a battle

zone with blazing sun and few trees or buildings for cover. Los Angeles Times correspondent David Lamb, 50, who also reported from Vietnam between 1968 and 1970, described the fitness hurdle to his editors as "a blatant violation of my constitutional rights, but the correct thing to do." Some journalists asked whether civilian and military officials on inspection tours would face the same rule. Pentagon officials eventually conceded that they had gone overboard and withdrew the test, but said they would still expect correspondents

two reporters have been threatened with exclusion because they asked "rude" questions. Such a ban would violate Pentagon rules, but getting a reversal might require time-consuming appeals back to the U.S.

The most troubling requirement is that pool reports be submitted to military censors to exclude any of 16 categories of material. These range from "information on effectiveness of enemy camouflage, cover, deception, targeting, direct and indirect fire, intelligence collection or security measures" to the catchall of "sensitive" matters. The concerns are valid, but the definitions are broad and vague and must be applied by military censors unaccustomed to such screening. Although the rules provide for a complex appeal and allow for an ultimate right to publish, the process could delay stories by days. All interviews would have to be scheduled in ad-



Striving side by side: a camera crew with a U.S. soldier in training in Saudi Arabia last month

A push for additional control over where reporters go, whom they talk to and what they reveal.

to be fit enough to cope with the desert.

Other proposed rules may prove harder to negotiate away. The Pentagon seeks greater control of journalistic activities than it had in Vietnam. It would limit initial combat coverage to two 18-member pools of print and broadcast reporters, one each with the Army and the Marines. Reporters would rotate and other pools would be added, but the number of journalists covering combat at any moment would probably be substantially smaller than in Vietnam—and almost surely smaller than news organizations would pay for.

News coverage outside the pool arrangement, a common practice in past conflicts, is essentially impossible in the gulf, and the Pentagon proposes that pool members have military escorts "at all times." These pools inevitably will be controlled to some extent by field commanders in Saudi Arabia, where, according to *Newsday* Washington bureau chief Gaylord Shaw,

advance and conducted on the record—a deterrent to whistle blowers, and a new rule since Vietnam. In a blow to broadcasters, the Pentagon would virtually ban conveying the sights and sounds of casualties.

Pentagon spokesman Pete Williams, who oversees the rulemaking, said he wants to meet media concerns while assuring U.S. commanders that "nothing will be reported that will jeopardize the success of your mission." He rejected the urging of Andrew Glass, Washington bureau chief of Cox Newspapers, and others that the Pentagon list security-related taboos and count on the honor and patriotism of journalists—reinforced by the military's legitimate accreditation powers—to ensure compliance. At week's end Williams promised instead to offer still more proposals this week, only a few days before they may begin to have real, and bleak, meaning.

—Reported by Stanley W. Cloud/Washington and Dean Fischer/Cairo

This Land Is Their Land

After a century of struggle, Native Americans are retrieving their rights and their heritage to preserve an ancient culture from extinction

By NANCY GIBBS

The temperature was 21° below zero, not counting the 20-m.p.h. winds blowing across the hilltop cemetery, as mourners gathered to remember a gruesome massacre. A century ago, on Dec. 29, 1890, soldiers of the 7th Cavalry slaughtered hundreds of Sioux men, women and children who had sought refuge under a white flag at a place called Wounded Knee. To mark the anniversary, descendants of

queerque attorney who regularly represents Native Americans: "The U.S. government has no more right telling the Pueblos how to run their internal affairs than does a country like Iraq to tell Kuwait how to run its internal affairs."

The vehicle, and the obstacle, to Indian autonomy is the immense, inert Bureau of Indian Affairs. The 167-year-old agency, which is in charge of everything from tribal courts and schools to social services and law enforcement on the reservations, has a

Hoopla Valley tribe in Northern California. "Self-determination means that we are completely free to set our own direction and goals, basically our own destiny." That destiny is in dire need of reshaping: life expectancy in some tribes is 45 years, the leading cause of death is alcoholism, and Indians have the lowest per capita income of any ethnic group in the U.S. A weak school system has made it nearly impossible for Native Americans to succeed in competitive jobs off the reservations. Without the resources to address these problems, tribal leaders fear that poverty and aimlessness will destroy whatever remains of traditional Indian culture.

Back around the turn of the century, the Federal Government's "progressive" policy toward Native Americans amounted to forced assimilation. The BIA shipped Indian children off to boarding schools, gave them Anglo names and banned their Native tongues and religious rituals. Each generation moved further from tribal tradition, to the point where languages, which were entirely oral, and skills, such as basketmaking, were in danger of disappearing. After decades of drift, tribes that have begun to focus on preserving their heritage for the next generation have also reduced their rates of teen suicide, illiteracy, addiction and despair.

But protecting an ancient culture also means fighting for rights that are blithely violated by neighboring communities. In last year's most celebrated confrontation, Mohawks faced down Quebec police and army troops 18 miles west of Montreal in a battle to prevent weekend golfers from putting into their ancestral graves. At the same time, Chippewa Indians, in northern Wisconsin, fought what has become an annual battle on the shores of Lake Minocqua. Their adversaries, local fishermen armed with rocks and insults, fear that the Indians' spearfishing will deplete the supply of walleyed pike and drive away sport fishermen. Though the Chippewa have voluntarily limited the size of their annual catch, they resent the fact that their ancestral claims are begrudged as concessions rather than viewed as legal rights.

Such confrontations are the flash points of a struggle heating up in courtrooms across the country. Heeding the lessons of the civil rights movement, the country's 700 Native American lawyers are using the judicial system. "There has been more Indian litigation in the past 20



Healing wounds: archaeologists preserve remains from a looted Kentucky burial ground

"Grave robbing was so widespread that virtually every tribe . . . has been victimized."

the survivors came on foot and on horseback, some from hundreds of miles across the plains. They circled the chain-link fence around the grave site, saying their prayers in silence and burning sage for purification. South Dakota Governor George Mickelson offered words of sorrow and apology, the culmination of a "Year of Reconciliation" between whites and Indians in South Dakota. The journey to the grave site, he said, "has been a prayer and a sacrifice, a wiping away of tears."

Each week brings a new installment in the fight for the survival of an ancient culture in a modern age and for dominion over lands lost a century ago. Above all, Native Americans wish to preserve the right to practice their religion, enforce their laws and educate their children without interference. Says Scott Borg, an Albu-

quero record of waste, corruption and choking red tape. A recent survey of government executives ranked it the least respected of 90 federal agencies, with the Indian Health Service close behind. An effort to restructure the bureau was halted by Congress until a task force of Native Americans could be assembled for consultation. But hope for progress runs thin: "Restructuring the BIA," one tribal leader noted, "is like rotating four worn-out tires."

Most Native Americans can no longer afford to wait for the government to take action. The crusade for greater self-determination reflects the desperate poverty and social pain that marks daily life on many reservations. "Indians are the most regulated people in the world," says Dale Riesling, chairman of the 2,000-member



March of memory: hundreds of Sioux withstood subzero winds on their 220-mile ride to mark the 100th anniversary of Wounded Knee

years," says John Echohawk, executive director of the Native American Rights Fund. "than in the previous 200."

Most of the conflicts, in one way or another, grow out of a commitment to the land. Despite anthropologists' evidence that they came to this country across the Bering Strait land bridge, many tribes believe their ancestors emerged from an underworld through a hole in the earth known as the sipapu. Their religion, their art and their well-being are tied to the land they have guarded and revered. Now, many generations after white settlers bribed, swindled and threatened thousands of Native Americans out of millions of acres, they are determined to seek restitution.

In the Black Hills of Wyoming, 15 tribes from Wyoming, Montana and the Dakotas are fighting off an effort by the Forest Service to turn their sacred site of Medicine Wheel into a tourist attraction. The 4,000-member Northern Cheyenne tribe of Lame Deer, Mont., is battling coal miners and railroad developers on its lands. Tribe members are afraid that development would bring tourists flooding into the middle of their religious ceremonies and disturb areas rich in medicinal plants and yellow ochre earth paint needed for those rituals. "How would you like it if I took my picnic basket, my family and dog

into your church while you were praying?" asks Bill TallBull, tribal elder of the Northern Cheyenne.

Many tribes are trapped between ancient environmental principles and modern economic pressures. One Alaskan tribe in dire need of funds is reluctantly trying to decide whether to sign away logging rights around Prince William Sound, permit oil drilling in a delicate wildlife area or allow an airfield to be built in the midst of a vast habitat for Kodiak bears. Other tribes have allowed waste-management companies to use reservation land for dumps and disposal sites, then suffered from the contamination of their land and water as a result. Across the vast Arizona tracts of the Navajo Nation, high-voltage wires run like silver threads to the Pacific Ocean, carrying electricity all the way to California—but not to the 200,000 Navajo who live beneath them.

A central controversy shared by Native Americans of many tribes is the crusade to have relics and remains of Indian ancestors removed from museums and returned to the tribes for burial. Some tribes believe the soul cannot rest until the body is returned to nature, by burial or cremation. Hundreds of thousands of Indian corpses were dug from their graves and carted away for display.

"Grave robbing was so widespread that virtually every tribe in the country has been victimized," says Pawnee Indian Walter Echo-Hawk, staff attorney at the Native American Rights Fund.

In a landmark accord with Indian leaders last year, the Smithsonian Institution agreed to sort through its collection of 18,500 remains and to return for burial all those that were clearly identifiable as belonging to a certain tribe. Stanford University then pledged to give back its entire collection of remains of the Ohlone tribe. Other museums and collectors followed suit, and in November President Bush signed a bill to protect Indian grave sites in the U.S. and to return remains to the tribes. In some instances, however, tribes have asked a museum to retain permanent control of the objects so they could be properly conserved.

In all areas of conflict, over land or tradition or scientific collections, years of litigation lie ahead. The Bureau of Indian Affairs will have an uphill battle persuading Native Americans that it is prepared to protect their interests rather than confound them. Given the U.S. government's track record in dealing with this continent's original owners, the task of rebuilding trust will take considerable will and faith on both sides.

—Reported by Nancy Harbert/
Albuquerque and Jeanne McDowell/Los Angeles

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The New Generation of
Oldsmobile

American Notes

JUSTICE

Bars and Stripes Forever

What nation locks up the highest percentage of its population? The Soviet Union? South Africa? Guess again: that dubious distinction belongs to the U.S. A report issued last week by the Sentencing Project, a Washington-based public-interest group that advocates reform of sentencing practices, puts the rate of incarceration at 426 per 100,000 people in the U.S., 333 in South Africa and 268 in the Soviet Union. It finds that America imprisons black males at a rate four times that of South Africa.

The report notes that the American prison population has doubled in the past decade—even though the overall crime rate has declined 3.5%. It cites mandatory sentencing laws in 46 states and tougher federal drug laws as the main reasons. Despite \$16 billion a year spent on prisoners, claims Marc Mauer, the project's assistant director, "the same policies that have helped make us a world leader in incarceration have failed to make us a safer nation."



The world's leading jailer

THE NAVY

Just Bill The Taxpayer

The Navy's A-12 Avenger attack-bomber development has been so mismanaged that three high-ranking uniformed officers and a top Defense Department official were forced out of their jobs or censured.



Earhart at start of trip

AVIATION

Did She Die on Nikumaroro?

The ominous silence after distress calls from Amelia Earhart's twin-engine Lockheed 10-E Electra in the Pacific in 1937 touched off one of aviation's greatest mysteries. Last week the FBI confirmed that a likely clue to her last landing site had been found. It was an aluminum map case recovered by a group of aircraft archaeologists on Nikumaroro, an atoll 420 miles southeast of Howland Island, her destination.

The FBI analysis of the breadbox-size container revealed that its paint was a type used at the time on civilian versions of a military navigator's case. The box could have fit exactly under the table used by Earhart's navigator, Fred Noonan. Richard Gillespie, executive director of the International Group for Historic Aircraft Recovery, which found the case, suggested that Earhart had landed on a reef. With temperatures up to 120°F and no fresh water available, survival was virtually impossible.

One problem has been the Pentagon's familiar habit of permitting huge overruns on contracts. A layman might see an easy solution: the contractors should either live up to their commitments or lose the work. But that is not the military way.

Last week top Navy officials and the two Avenger contractors, General Dynamics and McDonnell Douglas, agreed to

INVESTIGATIONS

No Cause For Pride

The Senate ethics committee hearings on the so-called Keating Five staggered into the final stretch last week with cross-examination of Republican John McCain and Democrat John Glenn. Of the five Senators accused of granting special favors to indicted S&L tycoon Charles Keating in exchange for political contributions, McCain and Glenn were considered the least culpable by the committee's spe-

cial counsel. Yet both men struggled under tough questioning.

A befuddled McCain conceded that he may not have fully repaid Keating for private-jet flights taken by his family. And a hollow-eyed Glenn solemnly acknowledged writing on Keating's behalf to S&L regulators at times when Keating was contributing to his campaigns.

This week Democrats Donald Riegle, Dennis DeConcini and, probably, the ailing Alan Cranston will be grilled in the final act of a saga in which none of the five has done himself—or the Senate—proud.

CALIFORNIA

Concealed Weapons

Americans routinely register their cars, bikes and dogs, generally without a yelp of protest. So why not their semiautomatic assault rifles and handguns, which may not always be as lethal as their autos but are certainly more so than their 10-speeds and terriers? Because, argued the National Rifle Association in a suit to throw out a 1989 California law that, in effect, banned possession of unregistered assault guns, the U.S. Constitution guarantees every citizen an unrestricted right to bear arms. California gun owners seem to agree. As a year-end deadline passed, only 18,000 of perhaps 200,000 such weapons had been registered.

California outlawed the purchase of semiautomatic guns as of Jan. 1, 1990, but those acquired before June 1989 could be kept if they were registered. The law seemed a big defeat for the NRA, as did a subsequent rul-

ing by Federal Judge Edward Dean Price in Fresno. Dismissing the NRA challenge, Price ruled that the Constitution permits each state to impose its own restrictions on gun ownership. However, even though police may now seize the unregistered



Testing guns—and the law

guns and charge their owners with a felony carrying up to a year in prison, the NRA may still win a victory by default unless the law is vigorously enforced.



Stratospheric bailout?



At the airport near Tel Aviv, hordes of arriving Soviet Jews await the start of their new lives in the Holy Land

In 1986, 221 Soviet Jews immigrated to Israel. In 1990, 185,000 arrived; in 1991, 400,000 are expected.

● ISRAEL

A Tide of Hope

As 1 million Soviet Jews head for their new homeland, they fulfill a Zionist dream but promise to transform the nation

By JON D. HULL TEL AVIV

They are coming in droves, a tide of migration that does not stop. Every few hours another El Al airliner wings into Ben Gurion airport from transit points in Europe, bringing 2,000 or 3,000 or 3,500 Soviet Jews each day. Since Moscow substantially eased exit rules in late 1989, the wave of immigrants has brought 185,000 Jews to Israel, the most since 1949, when the country was one year old and Holocaust survivors were fleeing the killing grounds of Europe. Before the flood stops, it is expected to deposit 1 million people in Israel (pop. 4.8 million), enough potential voters to change the course of the nation's politics.

It is a dream come true for Israel's Jews, who have feared they would become a minority in Greater Israel, with the Palestinian population growing so much faster than their own. It is counted as blessed news by Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, who predicts that most of the new Israelis will vote for his hard-line Likud bloc. But it is a considerable headache for Israel's economy, where housing and jobs are already in short supply. And it is a nightmare to the Palestinians, who see the influx as a new threat to their long fight for a state in the Holy Land.

Native Israelis are torn between their joy in welcoming so many Jews to the country they consider their rightful home and the high cost that the influx is exacting.

Longtime residents face stiff tax hikes, rent increases and competition for jobs. The new arrivals are finding themselves in lines almost as long as the ones back in the U.S.S.R. to obtain services from an overwhelmed bureaucracy. Many of the immigrants are educated far beyond the means of Israel's cramped economy to employ them, and face an uphill challenge to find suitable jobs—or any jobs at all.

But it is in the political realm that the wave of immigration is likely to have its most profound impact. Already Labor and Likud are vying for the allegiance of the newcomers, and the outcome of their fierce political courtship could be decisive for the Jewish state, determining whether it continues on a collision course with its

neighbors and world opinion. Acknowledges Labor party leader Shimon Peres: "Soviet Jews may decide which way the country goes."

Moderates like Peres argue that the presence of so many more Jews will give Israel the confidence to make sacrifices at the negotiating table. But hard-liners view the influx as a stunning victory in the demographic war against the Palestinians—and a mandate for a Greater Israel. Critics who suggest that Shamir will be forced to negotiate with the Palestinians once the Persian Gulf crisis is resolved may be disappointed: the staggering migration could make Shamir largely immune. If his government can house and employ the immigrants without bankrupting the economy, the Prime Minister may be able to mold them into ideological hawks, dragging Israel further to the right and eliminating any hopes for a territorial compromise.

But the political leanings of the immigrants may not be so monolithic. Of the 185,000 Jews who left the U.S.S.R. for Israel last year, some did so out of religious fervor, some to flee from anti-Semitism, many to escape hunger and civil unrest. Nearly one-third of the estimated 3.5 million Jews remaining in the Soviet Union are expected in Israel by 1992, increasing the Israeli population 20%. For them Israel offers the only readily available alternative, now that access to the U.S. and Canada has been sharply restricted.

For Israelis, who firmly believe there is safety in numbers, the unprecedented infusion of highly educated citizens fulfills the Zionist dream. "Israel faces the threat of war, tourists have stopped coming, the U.S. Administration is less and less friendly," says former refusenik Natan Sharansky. "And yet we see hundreds of Soviet Jews arriving every day because they have no other place to go." Adds Simcha Dinitz, chairman of the quasi-governmental Jewish Agency responsible for bringing the newcomers to Israel: "Though we are saving a million Jews, they are also saving us."

But first the *olim* (Hebrew for immigrants) must be assimilated, a task for which the government remains critically unprepared. Officials warn that available shelter will run out by March, despite plans to purchase 33,000 mobile homes and to bunk at least 100,000 new arrivals at 21 army bases. So far only a few thousand Soviet Jews have moved to the West Bank, but government incentives are luring other Jews there in search of cheaper housing. Last week Absorption Minister Yitzhak Peretz called for the creation of tent cities to help house the 480,000 immigrants expected this year. "In the short run, it's a great problem," admits Peres. "In the long run, it's a great promise."

Employment is also a great problem. Nearly 40% of the Soviet émigrés are trained in engineering, medicine and science, skills that could resuscitate the nation's stagnant economy. But the small

MIKHAIL PERLSTEIN



Two months ago, Mikhail Perlstein was working as a disk jockey in Kiev. Now he earns \$500 a month sweeping the streets of Netanya, a coastal city north of Tel Aviv. That was considered "Arab work" until a government crackdown on Palestinian laborers from the occupied territories opened such jobs for Soviet Jews. "I'm not ashamed to be doing this," he says, broom in hand.

Perlstein, 21, immigrated with his parents and a brother. They share a two-bedroom flat with three other Soviet Jews and take intensive Hebrew classes. "It's a tough adjustment, but we couldn't stay in Kiev any longer. It's becoming too oppressive for Jews," he says, recalling rumors of pogroms. The family's first choice was the U.S., but they couldn't get a visa. "We didn't know much about Israel, but we knew we wanted democracy," he says. "I'm not religious, but I'll be happy here because there is no discrimination and plenty of food."

Perlstein admits he is perplexed by the problems confronting Israel. "I think the Palestinians are people too, and they need a place to live," he says. Although he sounds like a Labor party supporter, he thinks he'll probably vote for Likud. "I've seen enough socialism in my life," he says. "I can't stand any more of it." ■

THE YERUCHIMOVs



The family of four arrived in Israel last month. Says Ella, 45, a nurse: "We left behind three flats, two cars and 30,000 rubles [about \$16,500]." After missing the deadline for a visa to the U.S., they decided that Israel offered their best chance of escape. "We were concerned about fascism," says Ella's husband Mikhail, 47, a doctor of acupuncture. "When we heard 'Latvia for the Latvians,' it sounded to us like 'Germany for the Germans.'" ■

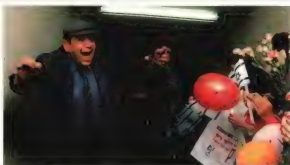
When the Yeruchimovs feel homesick for life in Riga, Latvia, they need only think of Israel's Ministry of Absorption office in Jerusalem, where they spent four days waiting in line to meet the one bureaucrat authorized to handle their paperwork. "It reminded me of the Soviet Union," says daughter-in-law Helen, 24. "But there you have to stand in line for food and soap."

Helen has already found a job at a tourist agency. Her husband Igor, 25, an abdominal surgeon, and his father aren't so optimistic. Says Mikhail: "It will be very difficult to find work here because we're told there are more doctors than Jews." Despite the difficulties, Helen has decided against trying to immigrate to the U.S. She says: "My friends in America tell me that if you don't make it there you can starve." ■

number of universities and medical centers are swamped with applicants, forcing many Ph.D.s to take jobs sweeping streets and waiting tables. Few additional jobs can be created without overhauling the highly regulated economy, with its small industrial base and crushing taxes.

Israeli society has proved remarkably efficient at absorbing waves of diverse immigrants, but the huge numbers of Soviet Jews may bring fundamental change to the national character. For the first time since the mid-1960s, European Jews will again outnumber Oriental Jews, reinforcing the nation's Western identity. Because most Soviet Jews are non-observant, they will considerably weaken the influence of the ultra-orthodox parties, which enjoy a disproportionate share of political power. That may explain why Peretz, an ultra-orthodox rabbi, claims that as many as 35% of the Soviet immigrants are not Jewish—a claim refuted by most experts.

Interior Minister Aryeh Deri counters that only 5% are non-Jews. Angry immigrants warn that any slowdown in approving visas could cost lives. "Jews must get out quickly," says Eini Spielman, who arrived from Chernovtsy two weeks ago. The 60-year-old cobbler is still recovering from a skin graft he needed after an anti-Semitic



Greeted by an Israeli welcoming committee, an immigrant celebrates

gang burst into his house in the Soviet Union last April, pinned him down and burned his stomach with a hot iron.

Peretz is one of the few politicians who has dared to offend the newcomers. By 1992, when the next parliamentary ballot is scheduled, these immigrants could elect as many as 20 of the 120 members of the Knesset, enough to break the six-year deadlock between Labor and Likud. Peres believes he can convince Soviet Jews that a territorial compromise with the Palestinians is in their interest. Shamir is just as confident that immigrants will grow attached to his concept of a Greater Israel. Many of the olim are less ideological than other recent settlers, and the idea of a big Israel is not very important to them. But they are likely to be extremely sensitive to the nation's se-

curity and repelled by Labor's socialist trappings.

As the ruling party, Likud is better positioned to woo voters with money and favors. And Shamir's tough policies may look more attractive at a time when the country is bracing for a possible war with Iraq. But the Likud bloc's vulnerability lies in the party's mismanagement of the absorption process. Despite repeated warnings, last year's budget grossly underestimated the expected immigration, and officials spend more time bick-

ering than coordinating policy. Various cash grants—\$7,500 for a family of three—stop after one year, which means hundreds of thousands of immigrants will feel the pinch of Israel's expensive living costs just prior to the 1992 elections. That could produce a separate political party targeting immigrant issues.

Such a special-interest party could control the balance of power in Israel's splintered parliament—and lead to a backlash from established voters. The first signs of resentment are already apparent. Last month the Histadrut labor federation virtually shut down the country for two days to protest government measures intended to raise money for immigration. Nonetheless, the 1991 budget earmarks \$6.15 billion for absorption, nearly as much as for defense, and imposes a 5% income-tax surcharge and a 2% increase in the value-added tax. For Israelis, many of whom already pay one-third of their average \$12,500 annual income to the government, the tax hike is a serious sacrifice for Zionism.

Even new taxes and fund drives will raise only a portion of the estimated \$40 billion that will be required over the next few years. The Bush Administration is unlikely to provide more aid unless Shamir agrees to political concessions, including a halt to Jewish settlements in the occupied territories. Although Shamir claims that fewer than 1% of the Soviet Jews have moved to the territories in the past year, the number is destined to grow: two weeks ago, Housing Minister Ariel Sharon disclosed plans to build 2,500 more homes for Jews in the West Bank and Gaza.

Sharon's announcement heightened Palestinian fears that the immigrants will be settled at their expense. "This will destroy all prospects for negotiations," says Saeb Erakat, professor of political science at An-Najah University in Nablus. To most Palestinians, each incoming planeload lessens the chances of preserving their hold on the West Bank and Gaza. It is a matter of almost equal import to the arriving Jews. As they settle with difficulty into their new lives, they must also face up to an ideological choice that could determine whether they and their neighbors can ever live in peace.

—With reporting

by Robert Slater/Jerusalem

MAJOROVA AND GOLUBENKO



After four months in Israel, Victoria Majorova already has a gas mask—and plenty of opinions on the Arab-Israeli conflict. "I don't believe there will ever be peace between Arabs and Jews here," says the mother of two, who worked as a graphic artist in Tallinn, Estonia. "Only God can say whether the West Bank belongs to Israel, and he's not talking."

Victoria, 47, and her husband Alexander Golubenko, 59, a neuropathologist, immigrated to spare their children from the collapse of the Soviet Union. Though neither are observant Jews, they were attracted to the idea of living in a Jewish state and turned down an opportunity to move to the U.S.

Like all newcomers, their main concern is finding jobs before their government aid expires. Says Alexander: "My happiness in Israel depends on finding a job." Victoria thinks she has a solution: "If politicians want our votes, they will have to address our problems, or we'll start our own political party." She is especially upset by claims that some of the Soviet immigrants may not be Jewish. "When the Israelis asked me questions to determine if I'm really Jewish, I broke down in tears," she recalls. "I told them: 'In Russia they know exactly who is a Jew.'"

World

SOMALIA

A Very Private War

With the world otherwise occupied, rebel armies seize the capital, at least 500 die, and the country sinks into anarchy

By **BRUCE W. NELAN**

Bodies littered the streets of Mogadishu, and artillery blasts rattled its shuttered buildings. Automatic gunfire was almost continuous around the presidential palace. Crowded hospitals in the capital were without water or food. Foreign embassy staffs took cover inside their locked compounds. Ringed by tanks and the remnants of his army, Somalia's octo-

malis—so there are no significant tribal hatreds. But its 8 million people are split into rival clans that have been battling one another for centuries.

As Siad Barre grew old and sick, his ability to command dwindled, and he turned to his family and his Marchan clan to run things. In May 1988 the Somali National Movement, formed by the northern Isaaq clan, rose in rebellion and seized several towns. The army put down the revolt

launched the Somali Patriotic Movement and gradually took over the country's southern region. Those rebels were joined six months ago by the United Somali Congress, organized by the Hawiye clan, which predominates in the center of the country and in Mogadishu. The Hawiyes had been outraged in July 1989 when government troops opened fire on street demonstrations in the capital and killed 450 protesters. Last week the Hawiyes were doing much of the shooting in Mogadishu, and at least 500 people were dead.

On Saturday, Italy and the U.S. began evacuating the last 500 foreign residents, but neighbors and the world community are making little effort to halt the carnage. Only a few years ago, it would have been different. Superpower rivalry in the Horn of Africa, near the entrance to the Red Sea, was intense: both Moscow and Washington had stakes in Siad Barre's rise or fall.

The Somali dictator was in fact a client of both superpowers at different times. The Soviet Union supported his brand of "scientific socialism," then also lent its backing to his neighbor, Ethiopia, when it turned Marxist in 1977. Somalia was at war with Ethiopia over the disputed Ogaden province, so Siad Barre reversed his allegiance and appealed to the U.S. Washington was happy to provide him with \$100 million in military and economic aid annually in the mid-1980s to counter Moscow.

Washington did not finally cut off aid until 1989, when Siad Barre's massacres of rival clans became too blatant to ignore, but the level of its contributions had been sinking steadily. Now that the cold war is over, Third World conflicts no longer figure as potential victories or losses for the U.S. or the Soviet Union, ironically making the world safer for brush-fire wars and insurrections.

Somalia's three rebel fronts dismissed Siad Barre's call for a cease-fire and negotiations last week, and the United Somali Congress marched reinforcements into Mogadishu for what it called the "final offensive." In a joint statement issued in London, the three groups announced their agreement to form a "transitional government that will pave the way for the restoration of democratic institutions."

That worthy objective may never be achieved. The rebel factions have no political program; the only principle that unites them is their hatred of Siad Barre and their determination to oust him. Their organizations are completely clan-based and are divided by hundreds of years of intramural fighting. With no restraining influences from abroad and the superpowers attending to other concerns, Somalia's future is likely to be sadly similar to its bloody past.

—Reported by J.F.O. McAllister/Washington and Clive Mutiso/Nairobi



Hawiye clan rebels have marched into Mogadishu and are preparing their "final offensive" against Siad Barre, above

genarian President, Mohammed Siad Barre, held out in an underground bunker at a military air base south of the city.

Another African state was lurching into anarchy last week. The disintegration of order and government in Somalia looked like an agonizing replay of the collapse of Liberia last year. Almost duplicating the stages that shattered the West African state, a group of Somali rebel armies sapped the strength of a narrowly based and despotic regime over several years. They then closed in on the capital and smashed the government's rule without replacing it. If this is the end of Siad Barre, his successor has not yet emerged.

Much in the style of Liberia's late President Samuel Doe, Siad Barre, a onetime policeman who seized power in a military coup in 1969, sealed his own fate by depending more and more on his kinsmen and overreacting to any challenge to his autocratic rule. Former U.S. diplomat Chester Crocker, a professor at Georgetown University, calls Siad Barre an "old-style, feudal, tribal chieftain." The country is ethnically homogeneous—98.8% are So-

with vicious bombing and shelling that killed as many as 50,000 civilians and insurgents. Said a relief worker in Mogadishu last week: "This regime has cold-bloodedly murdered or starved to death nearly 10% of the population, driven another 25% into exile and holds a multitude in jail."

The Isaaq rebellion did not collapse under the army's attacks and soon controlled the countryside in the north. Its success was matched by the Ogadeni clan, which



World

ALBANIA

Climbing Out of the Cage

As the communist regime confronts demands for change, ethnic Greeks flee to their motherland—and a less than rousing welcome

Snowcapped in winter and precipitous in many places, the Pindus Mountains, which straddle Greece and Albania, are all but impassable. That has not stopped thousands of desperate Albanians from crossing into Greece since the last week of 1990. In early December, four fleeing Albanians were shot dead near the frontier by soldiers of the Stalinist regime in Tirana. Last week, by contrast, refugees walked into Greece with little to deter them except the cold and the mountains. Instead of opening fire, border guards merely shot curses at the fugitives. By week's end about 5,000 refugees streamed into the northwestern Greek province of Epirus, doubling the population of the border area. Most of the fugitives belonged to Albania's large Greek minority, leaving territory once disputed by the two countries.

But even as Prime Minister Constantine Mitsotakis extended temporary-resident status to refugees claiming Greek ancestry, he pleaded with ethnic Greeks still in Albania to stay home to prevent a "na-



Exhausted refugees: better than Albania's wasteland of want

tional disaster." As for refugees in Greece, government spokesman Vyrion Polydoros said, "We wish that the idea will ripen that they will return to their homeland."

With few volunteers for the trip back to Albania and more refugees expected in the months to come, Mitsotakis scheduled a trip to Tirana. He will be the first Western leader to visit since Albania withdrew into isolation at the end of World War II. Athens is aghast at the prospect of accommodating

a good part of Albania's estimated 400,000 ethnic Greeks, especially when it believes that Tirana is encouraging the flight to wriggle through political difficulties.

In mid-December student demonstrations, belatedly inspired by the upheavals in the rest of the East bloc, forced concessions from the government of President Ramiz Alia, including promises of fair elections and economic reform. According to spokesman Polydoros in Athens, Alia is trying to rid himself of the Greeks before the vote scheduled for February because the ethnic group, which exceeds 10% of the population, is opposed to his rule.

Fearing persecution, ethnic Greeks chose to flee at the first word that border guards would not stand in their way. The countryside the refugees left behind is a wasteland of want. Virtually the only meat rural families saw last year was half a chicken distributed to each household on Nov. 29, the National Day. By contrast, even the icy refugee camps, such as Kalpaki in northern Greece, seem like paradise, providing shelter and plentiful food. Said a high-ranking Greek official: "The question is, Where does one draw the line? We don't want to make them feel too comfortable because we want them to go back." But back to what? —By Howard G. Chua-Eoan.

Reported by Mirka Gondicas/Kalpaki

SOVIET UNION

Good News, Bad Times

Gorbachev seeks an economic truce with his restive republics, hoping to ease the country's tensions

With good news scarcer than sausage in the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev made the most of what was available last week. Emerging jubilant from a Kremlin meeting with the Federation Council, a policymaking body that includes leaders of the 15 republics, the President announced that a temporary economic truce had been reached with the republics, finally making it possible to draft a national budget for the coming year. The central government and the republics, Gorbachev said, would also cooperate to overcome a deepening food crisis and set up a transitional administration until a new treaty reorganizing the federal structure of the Soviet Union was approved. "Months were lost in the tug-of-war between the center and the republics," Gorbachev complained. "We are specialists at going to extremes, but I am for common sense."

The embattled President could also claim some success in easing tensions in



Stopping the presses at a Latvian plant

the southwestern republic of Moldavia. Russian and Turkic minorities have tried to set up independent states there in opposition to a republican government that is dominated by the Romanian-speaking majority. In Kishinev, Moldavia's capital, the parliament bowed to an ultimatum from Gorbachev and agreed to reconsider laws promoting rights for ethnic Moldavians; in return, the parliament was assured that lo-

cal secessionists would halt their efforts to splinter the republic.

Gorbachev was clearly pleased to show that his newly enhanced presidential powers can produce results, but tougher tests lie ahead. Crucial economic disagreements must still be resolved with the powerful and populous Russian republic, whose parliament voted at year's end to withhold the lion's share of its contributions to the central government.

Elsewhere, the outlook was far from hopeful. General Mikhail Moiseyev, Chief of the Soviet General Staff, pledged last week that "not a single additional soldier" would be sent to the breakaway Baltic states, but that did not stop tensions from mounting in the region. Interior Ministry special forces seized Latvia's largest printing plant and brought publication of major newspapers in the republic to a virtual halt. Moscow officials said the raid in Riga was to recover Communist Party property, which was allegedly seized illegally by the republican government. In neighboring Lithuania, Interior Ministry troops took control of party headquarters, expelling local police units. Such bully tactics have raised questions about how repressive Gorbachev is prepared to be to hold his crumbling empire together. —By John Kohan/Moscow

AUSTRALIA

Slaughter Down Under

A nation that relies on the land for its vital exports staggers in the face of one of the century's worst agricultural slumps

By JAMES WALSH

Across the rolling countryside, the normal peace of rural life is shattered by volleys of gunfire. Under the hot summer sun of the Southern Hemisphere, sheep farmers are carrying out one of the largest animal slaughters in history. Some families drive off in tears after delivering their gentle charges to the killing pens where, next to mass burial pits, firing squads will dispose of 20 million sheep over the next year.

The death sentence was decreed as an emergency measure to rescue a vital export industry by curtailing wool production. During the past 18 months, Australia's prime overseas customers have cut back on purchases, leaving a glut of fleeces. Moreover, wheat farmers expect to see their incomes halved this year, and home-grown citrus sales have also soured. At a time when much of Australia is taking to beaches and playgrounds, the dreaming high summer of the Lucky Country's interior has turned into a nightmare.

For an economy that relies on products of the land for export earnings, the rural crisis is especially painful. Former Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser, now retired to his sheep and cattle ranch in the state of Victoria, warns that the slump could be the worst since the Great Depression 60 years ago. According to the New South Wales Farmers Association, its members are selling out and leaving the land at the rate of one every two hours. Says Daryl Reading of Gowrie: "It makes you mad. We're good at what we do, but we still can't make a living."

Such protests came to a head last week, when 60,000 farmers wearing broad-brimmed bush hats converged on Melbourne to dramatize their hardships. Coming from specks on the map like Yackandandah and Koo-wee-rup, they marched along leading sheepdogs or, in two cases, mounted on camels. **AUSTRALIA FOR SHEEP, NOT POLITICAL GOATS** proclaimed one placard. Rally leader Danny Johnson from Warracknabeal drew cheers when he shouted, "The heart has been ripped out of country Australia by high interest rates and excessive government taxes."

But more neutral observers wonder whether Prime Minister Bob Hawke's Labor Party government in Canberra is the

villain or the scapegoat. Agriculture is a notoriously boom-and-bust business. If any single factor is to blame, it is probably Australia's dodgy trading position in a rapidly industrializing part of the world.

Economically, a nation that once prided itself on a way of life superior to its neighbors' now stands in relation to Asia, particularly Japan, as a colony to a mother country. It imports money and equipment and sends back minerals and farm products. Welfare-state labor costs also stifle competition with hard-driving

the fashion rage of the late 1980s, the AWC lifted the price by 71%, to \$3.35 per lb., which encouraged farmers to swell their flocks. So dominant was Australia in the fine-wool market that its minimum price kept the stuff expensive amid overproduction and shrinking demand. One result has been a turn by Japan to improved synthetic fibers, which are smoother and more lightweight than their forerunners.

The slaughter campaign aims to reduce flocks to a more commercially manageable 150 million, though for Australians it has the dimensions of tragedy. Historically, the country rode to prosperity on the back of this biblical creature that typically can produce enough wool for four men's suits in a year.

But the sheep men's miseries are not the countryside's only plight. Thanks to bumper harvests around the world, wheat farmers face their lowest returns in more



The killing fields: mass destruction of sheep in Edenhope, Victoria, with carcasses piling up in the pit

Asian exporters in manufactured goods.

Australian salesmanship in Asia has brought in healthy profits, but commodity prices remain subject to mercurial swings. Two years ago, when wool was fetching a high world price of \$4.81 per lb., sheep men delighted in their earnings bonanza and stepped up production. They could not have foreseen that China, a big customer, would drop out of the market in the wake of Beijing's Tiananmen Square upheaval, when Western credits were cut off. Nor could they have predicted that the financially strapped Soviets would cancel orders and stop paying bills.

For years the wool growers have been sheltered by a cartel-like mechanism that only helped skew the market. The Australian Wool Corporation, a quasi-official body, bought all unsold stocks at a guaranteed price. When natural fibers became

more than half a century, and the international embargo on exports to Iraq has also eliminated Australia's second-biggest customer. Aggravating the crisis is cutthroat grain dumping by the U.S. and the European Community; both unload surplus wheat overseas at subsidized prices.

As for citrus, the bruiser has been import liberalization. In 1988 Canberra relaxed tariffs on a variety of products, enabling Brazilian oranges to capture 20% of the domestic market. Australia's 167,000 farmers protested that such imports were heavily subsidized by foreign governments. But Canberra remains committed to free trade in an effort to make the country more competitive. Whether market-oriented policies will rescue the countryside is the big gamble; a question, as the doomed sheep might attest, of killing some agriculture in order to save it.

—Reported by John Dunn/Melbourne

TERRORISM

The Life and Crimes of a Middle East Terrorist

In an exclusive report, TIME traces the connection between Iraq and a top operative for a shadowy Palestinian group

By JAY PETERZELL WASHINGTON

On Aug. 30, 1982, a well-dressed Palestinian from Iraq named Adnan Awad walked into the U.S. embassy in Bern, Switzerland, and announced that he had just left a bomb in his Geneva hotel room. He said he had been ordered by the May 15 Organization, a Baghdad-based terrorist group known to intelligence agencies, to blow up the Geneva Noga Hilton. But when he arrived in Geneva, he found he could not go through with it. Now he was appealing to the U.S. for help.

The diplomat who had been talking to Awad in a soundproofed embassy room picked up a telephone to alert the Swiss federal police. He told them a bomb disguised as a suitcase was hidden under the bed in Awad's seventh-floor hotel room. As a bomb squad raced to the hotel, Awad poured out details of his short-lived career as a terrorist. Suddenly, the American was called out of the room. When he came back, he was angry. The police had found Awad's suitcase right where he had said it would be—but there was no bomb in it. "You're crazy!" the diplomat said. "What are you trying to pull?"

Afraid the Americans might not help him, Awad frantically insisted that he was telling the truth. He drew a diagram of the suitcase, showing where thin sheets of plastic explosive were sewn into the lining and how the batteries and detonator were embedded in a sheet of plastic along the bottom edge of the suitcase. The diplomat reluctantly called the Swiss police again and talked them into sending the bomb squad back to Awad's hotel. Several tense hours passed. Finally, a call came through: the Swiss had found the bomb.

That was just the beginning of Awad's coming in from the cold. As he related his story to the Americans and the Swiss, then to Israeli, German and other officials in Bern, it became clear that he held the key to a major terrorist mystery. Just three weeks earlier, a bomb had exploded on a Pan Am jet flying from Tokyo to Hawaii; it killed a Japanese teenager and injured 15

Adnan Awad: the very reluctant bomber

other passengers. That bomb too was made of plastic explosive. It had easily passed through security checks designed to detect metal weapons and stop hijackings rather than bombings.

The Pan Am explosion left few clues. The most intriguing was a short length of 24-kt. gold-plated nickel wire that was driven into the body of the dead Japanese boy. Was this the bomber's telltale "signature"? Investigators thought the bomb was planted by a man who occupied the seat under which it exploded but who got off in Tokyo, before the fatal leg of the journey. But who was the man? And where had he come from? Awad's evidence would put the pieces together. Based on his debriefing, the U.S. government undertook an eight-year investigation that ultimately implicated the Iraqi regime of Saddam Hussein in anti-American terrorism.

THE VIOLENCE London's Mount Royal Hotel, left, after a bomb exploded in January 1980; the damaged fuselage of the 1986 TWA flight, center, on which four Americans were killed; and the handcuffed Mohammed Rashid en route to trial in Athens

That probe is expected to culminate early this year in Greece with the murder trial, stemming from the 1982 Pan Am bombing, of the May 15 Organization's top operative, a slim, dedicated young Palestinian named Mohammed Rashid. Although the U.S. wished to extradite and prosecute him, Athens will try Rashid under the 1971 Montreal Convention, which permits those charged with attacks on airliners to stand trial in the country holding them. Through dozens of interviews with current or former U.S. officials and other



sources, TIME reconstructed the steps by which Rashid was uncovered as one of the Middle East's most wanted terrorists.

Awad's involvement with Rashid began in Baghdad. A former captain in the Syrian army, Awad had knocked around the Persian Gulf for a few years before he and one of his brothers settled down in Iraq. By 1982 he had his own construction firm and a lucrative contract to lay foundations for a string of warehouses at Baghdad's military airport. Early that year he met a handsome 30-year-old expatriate from Jerusalem named Mohammed Rashid. Awad knew Rashid was with the fedayeen—freedom fighters—but that was not unusual among Palestinians. Awad would go on picnics with Rashid and his wife Fatima, an attractive, Austrian-born woman with freckles,

long blond hair and a healthy interest in firearms. Her real name, according to Western files, was Christine Pinter.

One day Rashid introduced Awad to someone new: a short, tough-looking, energetic man with the strong, deep voice of someone used to giving orders. It was Rashid's boss—Abu Ibrahim, also known as Husayn al-Umari, the 46-year-old chief of the May 15 Organization. The date was June 6, 1982—the very day Israel invaded Lebanon. That afternoon as the expatriates sat in Rashid's living room watching

the bloody assault unfold on television, Abu Ibrahim turned to Awad and asked angrily whether Palestinians like him were willing to help their country or only cared about making money. "Of course I want to help," Awad replied.

Awad soon learned that while the May 15 Organization was tiny, it had a global reach, with safe houses as far away as Bangkok. The group had pulled off bombings in London, Rome, Vienna, Antwerp, even Nairobi. Rashid bragged to Awad about blowing up the El Al airline office in Istanbul right under the nose of the Mossad, Israel's military intelligence agency. Afterward, he said, he had sneaked up behind an Israeli officer and stuck a note on his jacket making fun of the Mossad. Now Abu Ibrahim vowed to answer the Israeli invasion with a wave of bombings.

Rashid and Abu Ibrahim alternately cajoled and browbeat Awad into agreeing to blow up the Geneva Noga Hilton, which Abu Ibrahim said was owned by a Jew who he claimed sent a lot of money to Israel. Realizing he had got in over his head, Awad began avoiding Abu Ibrahim. Then one morning Awad went to his construction site at Baghdad's military airport and found that he and his 60 workers were locked out. The officer in charge said he had orders to shut down the job until Awad talked to Abu Ibrahim again.

Awad felt he had no choice. He knew that the Iraqi government paid for May 15 members' rent and gasoline and provided Abu Ibrahim with documents, untraceable license plates and security guards. Now the May 15 chief had shown that with a word from him, the Iraqi military would bring Awad's business to a halt. Awad realized that he could not continue his life in Baghdad if he defied the bombmaker, and he headed for Abu Ibrahim's villa in the wealthy diplomatic quarter of southwest Baghdad. Abu Ibrahim welcomed the reluctant terrorist and personally trained him. At one point, Awad asked what would happen if the Iraqi police found the bomb

in his suitcase while he was at the airport. "Don't worry," Abu Ibrahim replied. "The Iraqis know about everything we do."

By early August, Awad was ready. The day before he left for Geneva, he said goodbye to Rashid and Pinter. The couple was headed for the airport with their two-year-old son on a terrorist mission of their own: it turned out to be the bombing of the Pan Am flight to Hawaii. "We'll all meet back in Baghdad in three weeks," said a confident Rashid.

His prediction was wrong. Awad's desperate journey would end in a Geneva hotel room when he found himself talking aloud to a bomb in his suitcase. Torn between fear of Abu Ibrahim and horror at the idea of killing innocent people, Awad prayed that the bomb would explode then and there, taking him with it. The next morning he decided to go to the authorities.

While Awad was astonishing officials in Bern with his detailed reports, other evidence piled up. A May 15 member en route from Baghdad was arrested in Tunisia with a suitcase bomb like Awad's. Under interrogation, the man admitted that he and another May 15 member, called Abu Saif, had put a bomb on a Pan Am flight from London's Heathrow Airport to New York. The bomb had been found on Aug. 25, 14 days and 40,000 miles later, unexploded, when the aircraft landed in Rio de Janeiro. It had not blown up because the bombers inadvertently broke off the safety pin, leaving the tip stuck in the bomb.

Meanwhile, the Swiss asked Awad to prove that he was working for Abu Ibrahim by telephoning Baghdad. He reached the bombmaker's wife. He hadn't been able to get a room at the Hilton, he told her; he had run out of money. A few days later, a courier showed up in Switzerland carrying \$1,500 in cash and a photo of Awad. It was Abu Saif. A search of his shoulder bag showed that part of a maroon vinyl liner had been cut out: the missing fabric had been used to wrap the bomb found in Rio.



World

There was even the telltale signature that linked all the bombs: a gold-plated nickel wire like the one that had been removed from the body of the Japanese youth killed in the blast over Hawaii. Identical wires were found in the Rio, Geneva and Tunis devices, in each case attached to a commonly available E-cell electronic timer made by Plessey, USA, an electronics firm based in White Plains, N.Y. All three bombs used a distinctive, homemade version of the easily procurable high explosive PETN. All were powered by AAA-size batteries from the same manufacturer and the same lot. Clinching the case, the Hawaii bomber had left a fingerprint on the stub of his plane ticket. The print was identified as Mohammed Rashid's.

The Israelis had a different idea. They saw Awad's defection as a chance to blow a hole in the Palestinian underground. Israeli officials asked to speak to Awad alone, and they gave him a lie-detector test. Then they made an offer. "Your life is at a dead end," a Mossad officer told him. The Israelis would give him \$5 million to start a new life in Paris. There he would continue to be involved with the Palestinian freedom fighters, and to boost his credibility, the Swiss would make it look as though he had carried out his mission in Geneva. A bomb would go off at the Hilton, and there would be smoke, damage and simulated injuries. Once in Paris, Awad would help Israel identify the members of the terrorist network, one by one.



A target for terrorism: the lakeside Geneva Noga Hilton

Awad's desperate journey would end in a hotel room with him talking aloud to a bomb.

In March 1982, the State Department took Iraq off its list of countries that support terrorism. The move cleared the way for the U.S. to support Iraq in the Iran-Iraq war. By late 1982, however, growing evidence that an Iraqi-backed group was behind a wave of bombings against U.S. targets led to a mini-revolt in the American government. "I was very upset," says Noel Koch, then the Pentagon's top official for counterterrorism policy and now a security-management consultant. "I called my colleagues at State and asked, 'What the hell are we doing?'" They didn't like the policy either, but the decision to tilt toward Iraq in the war had been made at the top of the U.S. government. "It was a fact of life," says Koch. The officials soon realized that there would be no retaliation against Iraq. If they were going to do anything about the attacks masterminded in Baghdad, it would have to be limited to identifying, tracking and prosecuting specific individuals responsible for the Hawaii bombing. With Awad's testimony they just might pull it off.

Awad turned the Israelis down flat. He did not want to be involved with terrorism at all, he said. If he were willing to do that kind of thing, he could have done it for the Palestinians; why should he do it for the Israelis? Instead, in early 1984 Awad agreed to go to the U.S., enter the Witness Protection Program and testify against Rashid.

For the next four years, while an increasingly frustrated Awad waited in America, U.S. intelligence agents hunted Rashid without success. The CIA occasionally got word that he had been spotted, but always too late. Through it all, the bombings continued, and Abu Ibrahim remained a sore point in U.S.-Iraqi relations. In late 1984, as the war with Iran drained resources, U.S. officials claim, Iraq finally agreed to force him into retirement. Rashid and many other May 15 assets simply transferred to a Palestine Liberation Organization commando unit known as the Special Operations Group. "The terrorism continued, just under a different name," says Vincent Cannistraro, who left the CIA this fall as head of analysis and operations

for the agency's counterterrorist center. According to associate deputy FBI director Buck Revell, Rashid is a prime suspect in the 1986 P.L.O. bombing of a TWA flight to Athens that killed four Americans.

Three years after the Justice Department asked him to move to the U.S., Adnan Awad finally appeared in court. In July 1987, based on his testimony and other evidence, a federal grand jury indicted Rashid, Pinter and Abu Ibrahim for the 1982 Hawaii bombing and other actions. Now the U.S. government was armed with an indictment, but Rashid's trail had grown cold. The search kicked into high gear. In early 1988, electronic intercepts and other intelligence tracked Rashid to a house in Khartoum, where he was living with Pinter.

The U.S. asked the government of Sudanese Prime Minister Sadiq al-Mahdi to arrest Rashid. "The Sudanese position was that they were providing hospitality," says a knowledgeable former official. "As long as Rashid didn't do anything against them, they didn't want to get involved." That led to a debate in Washington: Should the FBI kidnap Rashid on Sudanese soil? Officials decided instead to keep a close eye on the Palestinian bomber and hope he traveled to a country where he could be arrested. In early May 1988, the CIA learned that he was planning to go to Greece. Not the perfect spot, given the Papandreu government's sympathy for the P.L.O., but it would do. Fearing that the Greeks would be reluctant to take legal action against Rashid, the American embassy told them only that a man carrying a fake Syrian passport would be landing at Athens airport on May 30. "The Greeks were happy to arrest him," says a former official directly involved in the case. "Once he was in custody, we told them it was Rashid. They said, 'Oh, shit!'"

For two years the Greeks resisted American efforts to extradite the accused bomber. Rashid's wife, still living in Khartoum, was even permitted to visit him in jail at least twice using a Greek passport and a fake name, although she too was under U.S. indictment. Nor does the story end with the decision last September by Prime Minister Constantine Mitsotakis to prosecute Rashid as part of his tougher line on terrorism. Two months ago, Rashid discovered the identity of the key witness against him. Since then, U.S. officials have learned, the supposedly retired Abu Ibrahim has dropped in on Awad's brother in Baghdad and confiscated his passport. The implied threat that harm may come to Awad's family if he testifies against Rashid is not hard to fathom. Adnan Awad and Mohammed Rashid, their lives so painfully bound together, can each make the other pay a stiff price when Awad finally confronts his former comrade-at-arms in a court of law.

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World Notes



A black chapter: then President Videla during a military parade

ARGENTINA

No Peace in The Dirty War

President Carlos Saúl Menem wanted to "close a black chapter" in Argentina's history. But his decision last week to pardon ex-President Jorge Videla and half a dozen other leaders who had been jailed in 1986 for their role in Argentina's "dirty war" in the late 1970s only rekindled popular outrage. Nearly 50,000 citizens took to the streets of Buenos Aires to protest, and Bishop Jorge Novak called the

measure a "humiliating defeat for the democratic system."

Menem intended the pardons to cool the simmering resentment within the armed forces that has led to four military uprisings since democracy was restored in 1983. The demonstrations signaled, however, that Argentine civilians are far from ready to forgive the military for having killed 9,000 of their countrymen and tortured thousands more in a campaign against leftists. But Videla remained unrepentant, calling for the "full vindication" of the army.

EL SALVADOR

Who Killed the Copter Crew?

The undisputed facts were ugly enough: guerrillas of the leftist Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (F.M.L.N.) last week shot down a U.S. military helicopter, killing its three-man crew. But determining just how and when the Americans died proved difficult.

The helicopter was hit by rebel ground fire about 75 miles east of San Salvador. The F.M.L.N. said all three crewmen died from injuries suffered when the chopper crashed. But area residents claim that the rebels ordered them to drag out two of the Americans, alive and begging for water. At first they said both died for lack of medical attention, but later suggested they were shot. In Washington officials said autopsy reports showed that two of the

crew were killed with gunshots to the head. Both sides have motives for fudging the facts. The rebels do not want to upset peace talks with the Salvadoran government, and the Bush Administration is trying to rally support for its proposal to give El Salvador \$42.5 million in new military aid.



Wreckage of the helicopter

FRANCE

Tempest in a Chapeau

Quelle horreur! Everyone knows the French language is sacrosanct. But that has not kept the government of Prime Minister Michel Rocard from trying to reform French spelling to make it easier.

The proposed changes will affect at most 4,000 of the 50,000 words in use, but such minor "rectifications" cut no ice with editors and academics who have launched a vigorous *contre-attaque* (new spelling: *contrataque*). At the center of their protest is the circumflex accent, a little hat the French occasionally put over vowels (as

in *château* and *hôtel*, *croûton* and *maitre*). To simplify matters, the new rules would remove it from *i's* and *u's*.

Henri Troyat, a member of the prestigious French Academy, charged that the omission would "disfigure the soul of a word." Book editor Yves Berger bemoaned the loss "of this marvelous *chapeau de gendarme* [policeman's hat]." The brouhaha grew worse over the past two weeks as more members of the academy openly broke with the majority who voted for Rocard's reform last May, and it is possible they may force another vote. The academy will discuss the issue at its Thursday meeting this week, and if it recants, the government will have to think again. ■



CANADA

Sorely Taxing The Consumer

Why do salted peanuts cost more than unsalted ones? Because the former is deemed a taxable snack, while the latter is a grocery—and thus exempt from Canada's new 7% goods-and-services tax. A six-pack of yogurt and a dozen oranges are tax-free at the corner grocery, but one of each gets hit when bought in a cafeteria line. Self-employed workers earning less than \$30,000 a year don't have to collect and pay the tax at all, so a wash-and-set at the hairdresser could cost \$10.70 in one chair and only \$10 in the next.

This tide of confusion con-

firms some of the deeply held fears Canadians expressed during the lengthy legislative battle to enact the value-added tax that went into effect Jan. 1. Now that it is being levied, though, one major anxiety—a burst of inflation—seems to have been misplaced. The Department of Finance once expected the levy to increase the price index 1.25% this year, but now, in the midst of a recession, its inflationary impact appears muted.

With a value-added tax now the rule in most industrialized countries, the U.S. is the last major holdout against adopting it to replace diverse and competing sales taxes. So let the debate begin: Is a pizza with extra pepperoni a snack or a staple? ■



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A Nation of Neighbors

Westwood Neighbors Improve Their Community

Jan Marie Belle was angry. She'd watched her neighborhood in Westwood, one of Denver's poorest and most ethnically mixed sections, sink into serious decline. So, one day in 1987, Jan went door-to-door to appeal to her neighbors. "We don't need outsiders to solve our problems," she told them. "We can do it ourselves." Her neighbors agreed, and the Southwest Improvement Council (SWIC) was born.

SWIC has proved what Jan believed all along. "If you don't sit around pointing fingers and expecting someone else to come fix your problems, you'll find leaders everywhere," says Jan. "When you get your neighbors together, you can accomplish miracles."

Leading by Listening

Today, there's a new spirit in Westwood thanks to the 450 volunteers of SWIC. Men, women and children of all ages, ethnic and religious backgrounds are working together in teams to revitalize their community.

SWIC's army of volunteers is organized into several groups, each of which has been enthusiastically named to reflect the service its members perform. The Urban Gleaners, for example, hunt for discarded goods and building materials in trash bins throughout the city. Successful trips produce housewares, books and toys which are reconditioned and distributed to the needy. Assorted building materials such as lumber, tile and wrought iron are used by volunteer craftsmen to install safety banisters for elderly residents or repair homes in Westwood. The Yardbirds clean yards and beautify vacant lots. Friendly Visitors offer companionship to homebound residents. Volunteers also tutor students, shovel snow for residents unable to do it themselves, or they staff SWIC's food distribution center.

Now the community of Westwood has taken on a new look. Homes have been repaired and painted; yards and alleys are clean; graffiti has disappeared; and, most importantly, the SWIC volunteers and those they help feel their lives are richer.



Yardbird volunteers Marjorie Anderberg and young Kristina Herrera bag leaves for a disabled resident.

The key to SWIC's success: "We understand our local problems, because we live here and we listen," says Dora Arguello, one of the earliest volunteers. "Instead of telling people what they should do, we ask them what they think should be done and do it together."

A Spirit of Caring

Neighbors like Esther Meza, an active volunteer on the Respite Sitters team, exemplify SWIC's ideal of neighbors looking out for one another. Trained Respite Sitters stay with ill or disabled elderly while their regular caregivers (usually relatives) go shopping or just take a break. "In most places, the elderly are forgotten. But not here," smiles Esther. "We all take care of each other."

That spirit of caring is one of SWIC's proudest accomplishments. "We're a community now," says Dora. "People have come out of their homes to take responsibility for making things better for everyone. We've become friends - and people take care of their friends."

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People

By EMILY MITCHELL



There Is Nothing Like This Dame

So long, La Stupenda, and goodbye again. It's hard for Australia's Dame **Joan Sutherland**, 64, to say *addio* to opera, so she did it twice. The first time was in Sydney last

October, and last week in London she bade a New Year's Eve farewell to her international career where it began 38 years ago. At the Royal Opera House, the diva

was a party guest in Act II of *Die Fledermaus*, along with **Luciano Pavarotti**. Sutherland cautioned that "the old voice is winding down," but the party wasn't over until she sang a final, glistening *Home Sweet Home*.

Daddy Dearest

The Soviet Union is warmer than California these days, at least for **Werner Erhard**, 55. While the est founder has successfully introduced his self-improvement program to Soviet managers, things are chilly at home. A memo leaked from his Bay Area company recommended bankruptcy, and his children are telling horrifying tales of



abuse by their dad. "I remember him being completely violent," daughter Celeste, 27, told a San Jose paper. "You never knew when he was going to go off and throw things or smack my mom."

The Old Man and the Sea

Joining the ranks of Captains Ahab and Bligh comes the villainous Cap'n Mossbacher, who shows up in next month's Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles' comic book. Strange that he resembles Secretary

of Commerce **ROBERT MOSBACHER**, or is it? The character, whose catch includes sea turtles, is the hard-shell heroes' way of getting revenge for the Secretary's 1989 decision to give shrimpers a reprieve from using nets with escape devices for the reptiles. "As a fan of comic books and fiction," says Mosbacher, "I thought it was funny." So send out for a pizza and join the crowd.



Oh, Oh, Canada

They're not those kids—not new on the block. They're a Canadian satiric troupe called the Kids in the Hall, and they're not even kids at all. **KEVIN McDONALD**, **SCOTT THOMPSON**, **DAVE FOLEY**, **BRUCE MCCULLOCH** and **MARK MCKINNEY**, ages 28 to 32, are serious guys who turn into outrageous characters—including women. Now in their second HBO season, the Kids plan to cuddle up to Americans during a spring tour, says Foley, "with remarks about how we love your flag and how good your nation is in bed." Just kidding.



Hide and Seek

Senators can run, but they can't hide from **Martha Pope**. Taking over last week as the first female sergeant at arms of the U.S. Senate, Pope, 45, has the power of arrest to aid her in rounding up absent members—wherever they may be—and bringing them to the floor



for a vote. She also manages a \$120 million budget, heads the board overseeing the 1,300-strong Capitol Police Force and is responsible for enforcing rules and maintaining decorum in the Senate. Jokes Pope, whose first job on the Hill was as receptionist for ex-Senator Gary Hart: "I started out answering phones, and it may still be my only marketable skill."

Business

Pillars of Sand

The recession is putting banks through their worst trauma since the 1930s; the crisis could finally force Washington to overhaul the U.S. financial system

By JOHN GREENWALD

Guards posted outside dozens of shuttered financial offices in Rhode Island last week were ominous portents for the troubled U.S. banking industry. Only hours after he was sworn in on New Year's Day, Governor Bruce Sundlun shut down 45 banks and credit unions to prevent a run on deposits in the wake of the collapse of the private firm that insured them. While such private insurance has become a rarity, the closings aggravated the growing anxiety about the health of the entire financial system, as the U.S., already reeling from the savings and loan debacle, sinks into a new recession.

Not since the Great Depression has the outlook for so many banks seemed so grim. The epicenter of distress is the downtrodden Northeast, where lenders in New York and New England are writing off bad loans at a furious pace. Many of the worst headaches are in New York City, which is home to seven of the 10 largest U.S. banks. Experts predict that such giants as Citicorp, the biggest U.S. banking company, Chase Manhattan (No. 3) or Chemical (No. 8) may have to merge with other large firms to survive. "There is a high chance for a major consolidation over the next one or two years," says James McDermott, who follows the industry for the Wall Street investment firm Keefe Bruyette.

Such a marriage would be just part of a broad upheaval that seems certain to reshape American banking this year. From Main Street to Wall Street to the White House, 1991 looms as a watershed for the staggering industry. Calling financial reform a top domestic priority, George Bush is preparing a proposal to free banks from regulations that bar them from crossing state lines or diversifying into new fields. Congress began to put forth its own proposals last week. Meanwhile, more than 1,000 of the nation's 12,400 commercial banks are on the government's watch list of troubled lenders, a level four times as great as during the 1981-82 recession. And the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. expects 180 banks with total assets of \$70 billion to fail this year. The cost of closing them will drain



Troopers guard offices of the failed Rhode Island Share & Deposit Indemnity Corp.

more than half the cash now in the FDIC fund that insures bank deposits, leaving a meager \$4 billion on hand, unless something is done to shore up the fund.

The industry's problems have affected consumers and companies by discouraging banks from lending to any but their most creditworthy customers. The resulting credit crunch helped bring on the recession and drive up unemployment, which the government said last week reached 6.1% in December, the highest level in more than three years. Moreover, big banks have kept lending rates high to bolster sagging profits, which fell to \$3.8 billion in the third quarter of 1990, down from \$5.3 billion in the April-June period. Most major banks waited until last week to lower their prime rate a half-point, to 9½%, even though the Federal Reserve Board had dropped its discount rate, on which the prime is largely based, two weeks earlier. Many banks are raising service charges for everything from automated-teller-machine transactions to penalties for bounced checks.

The biggest risk is the prospect of a widespread bank collapse. The trigger could be a protracted war in the Persian Gulf, which could, in turn, deepen the recession and force debt-laden companies into massive loan defaults. Collapsing banks would aggravate the downward spiral by drying up credit and leaving taxpayers with another painful bailout bill. The disaster scenario may be plausible, but most experts doubt that bank failures will come close to the magnitude of the S&L fiasco, which will cost Americans as much as \$1 trillion over the next 30 years. Despite the banking industry's problems, 89% of U.S. commercial banks were profitable in last year's third quarter. The S&L industry, by contrast, lost \$1.5 billion during the period.

Big banks have been sliding into trouble since the 1970s, when many of their best customers began drifting away. Major companies found they could raise funds more cheaply by borrowing in money markets, rather than turning to banks. And depositors could get higher returns and adequate safety by putting their savings into money-market funds instead of passbook accounts. The defections left banks to chase riskier business, such as Third World lending or leveraged buyouts, to keep their profits up. "Banks just can't compete with other providers of services that they have traditionally offered," says Gary Gorton, a finance professor at the Wharton School.

The Trigger Man



Behind the crisis in Rhode Island stands a single man: Joseph Mollicone Jr., president of the failed Heritage Loan and Investment. Behind Heritage's collapse, investigators say, was \$13 million in funds that Mollicone stole after recording them on the bank's books as loans to customers. Mollicone was the epitome of a powerful and successful banker before he vanished last November after his son dropped him off at Boston's Logan Airport for a flight to Newark. He drove a black Porsche, lived in a posh neighborhood and was friendly with local politicians. But there were signs of a darker side to Mollicone's nature. Among other things, he reportedly used his political ties to rig bids for government leases. The FBI has launched a global search for Mollicone, but authorities said they had no clue to his whereabouts.

"So banks have had what is left over."

Many of the biggest high rollers were New York City banks that lavished loans on everyone from Latin American dictators to Donald Trump. At the same time, they helped finance the 1980s real estate boom that has filled U.S. cities with vacant office towers and dotted suburbia with empty condominiums. "Citicorp was hurt the most," says Thomas Brown, a Paine Webber banking analyst. "Then come Chemical, Chase and Bank of New York."

The banks took part of their lumps in huge write-offs last year. Conceding that the full value of many loans will never be collected, Citicorp said it expects to report at least \$300 million in losses for the fourth quarter. Chase lost \$623 million in the third quarter, while Chemical reported a

\$43.7 million deficit for the same period. The problems have taken their toll on workers as the troubled banks have slashed payrolls and shuttered divisions and offices. New York City banks have eliminated 15,000 jobs since 1987, or 8% of their work force.

Attrition has been heavy across New England, where bad real estate loans have put some banks on the endangered list. Boston's Bank of New England said last week that it may report a loss of as much as \$450 million for the fourth quarter. The deficit moved the troubled bank to the verge of collapse.

The pain was most immediate in Rhode Island last week when bewildered customers learned that more than half the state's banks and credit unions closed their doors. "I've had all my money in here since 1967," said a tearful depositor who found herself locked out of her credit union. "It's \$10,000. It's my life's savings. And now I might lose it all."

Sundlun shut the institutions after their private insurer, the Rhode Island Share & Deposit Indemnity Corp., was wobbled by the failure of a Providence bank whose president vanished in November with \$13 million in funds. While 22 credit unions were scheduled to reopen this week under federal deposit insurance, Sundlun pledged to bail out shuttered lenders that are too weak to qualify for such coverage.

Banking's woes are spreading beyond the Northeast. In California, where banks are generally suffering less than in other regions, Security Pacific Corp. last month projected a loss of at least \$320 million for the fourth quarter. More than half the bank's problems stemmed from loans outside California, particularly to builders in Arizona. Experts are worried that a further downturn

in California's slumping real estate market could cause a flood of red ink at the state's other big banks.

The shaky health of the industry led Congress last week to introduce bills to shore up federal deposit insurance and strengthen federal bank supervision. Sponsors included Henry Gonzalez, the Texas Democrat who chairs the House Banking Committee. Meanwhile, the Treasury Department is drafting plans to permit banks to enter new fields to increase their profitability. The key points in the proposals:

Federal deposit insurance. All sides want to rescue the FDIC fund. The Administration is considering plans to levy a special assessment on banks or raise their insurance premiums to add at least \$25 billion. The

How Safe Is Your Money?

Don't stuff your cash in the mattress just yet. Bank experts say there are good ways to gauge your bank's soundness:

CHECK FOR INSURANCE

Make sure your account is covered by federal insurance, which covers deposits up to \$100,000. Private insurance funds are generally more risky.

BE WARY OF HIGH RATES

If a bank or thrift tries to lure savers with interest that is far higher than the competition's, it could be a sign that the institution is desperate.

STAY INFORMED

Watch for news of changes at your institution. Is there management turmoil? Are regulators clamping down? Don't panic at rumors, but stay alert.

KNOW YOUR BANKER

Teller machines have created impersonal banking relationships. It's better to become acquainted with the staff, whose attitude can be telling.

LOOK AT THE NUMBERS

Make sure your bank has equity of more than 5% of its assets—a healthy figure. Or check with a rating agency like Veribanc of Wakefield, Mass.

proposals would limit depositors to a total of \$100,000 in federal insurance; in the S&L bailout, some big customers are being repaid the full \$100,000 for each of several accounts.

New lines of business. To give banks a broader base of profits, the Administration wants to scuttle Depression-era laws that severely limit bank activities. It would allow banks to underwrite securities and may urge that they be permitted to sell insurance or to affiliate with other types of companies. Banks would be prevented by so-called fire walls from risking federally insured deposits in the new ventures. Moreover, only healthy, well-capitalized banking companies would be permitted to enter new fields.

Interstate banking. The White House would permit banks to open branches across state lines and thereby create nationwide networks of loans and deposits. While most states permit some form of interstate banking, their separate policies subject banks to a crazy-quilt pattern of rules and regulations.

Government supervision. The Administration and Congress want to consolidate the federal authority to regulate banking. That would simplify a regulatory process that is parceled out among such agencies as the Federal Reserve Board, the Comptroller of the Currency and the FDIC.

The proposals to broaden banks' powers are certain to inspire a wide range of opponents, from insurance companies to small-town bankers. "Full national branch banking is only going to lead to greatly increased financial concentration," says Kenneth Guenther, executive vice president of the Independent Bankers Association of America. "It only means that the big will get bigger." Such arguments lead congressional staff members to consider the expansion of banking powers a long shot at best.

In any event, 1991 will see a major shake-out among banks as weak ones fail or merge with stronger partners. But barring a severe worsening of the recession, most of the industry should survive the slump. "If the New York banks can pull through, the present situation is very manageable," says John McCoy, chairman of Ohio's financially robust Banc One Corp. Concur Thomas Theobald, chairman of Continental Bank in Chicago, which the government rescued from a brush with bankruptcy in 1984: "The system has had its heart attack, but we view that as a warning and a way to recovery. It's not fun. It's tough. But, thank God, we're going through it." Since confidence in the economy is so closely tied to the fitness of banks, everyone can only hope that they are right.

—Reported by Robert Agran/ Boston, John E. Gallagher/New York and Michael Riley/Washington

Hasn't He Been Here Before?

Once again, a Neil Bush company is ensnared in a bailout, and a probe is under way into the propriety of his financing

The reference in the legal brief was tantalizingly obscure, like a clue in a board game. Neil Bush, the government lawyers claimed, "is again engaged in a venture with an individual to whom he looks for assistance in financing his obligations ... the prospect of recurrent problems does not seem remote."

Lawyers for the federal Office of Thrift Supervision made that veiled reference last month to persuade an administrative-law judge to take a tough line in reprimanding the President's 35-year-old son for his performance as a director of Denver's Silverado S&L, which collapsed in 1988 at a cost of \$1 billion to the U.S. When Judge Daniel Davidson issued his decision, he declared that Bush had broken conflict-of-interest rules. The judge ordered Bush to avoid future conflicts, a mild sanction. But the OTS lawyers' cryptic reference to a potential new problem intrigued congressional investigators.

The trail led them to Louis Marx Jr., a New York City financier. Marx, an heir to a toymaking fortune, supplied Bush with \$2.3 million in government-guaranteed financing to bankroll Apex Energy, an oil exploration firm the President's son started in May 1989. Marx's

venture-capital firms were declared insolvent a year later, triggering a \$25 million federal bailout. As a result, taxpayers may once again have to underwrite a Neil Bush venture. Bush financed his earlier firm, JNB Exploration, with loans from two Silverado customers whose \$130 million in defaults helped escalate the cost of the S&L's bailout.

Bush folded the money-losing JNB in 1989 and immediately launched Apex with financing from two Small Business Investment Corporations that Marx controlled, Wood River Capital and one of its subsidiaries. Marx started Wood River in 1979 with \$15 million in private capital and a \$30 million line of credit from the Small Business Administration. The Marx companies bought a 49% stake in Apex for \$1.5 million and loaned it an additional \$850,000 in SBA-guaranteed money.

When Wood River became insolvent last year, the SBA was obliged to pay off \$25 million of its debts. Wood River officials signed an agreement with the SBA to liquidate in order to repay at least a portion of the money. The company has told the SBA it should be able to repay its entire government debt within 30 months.

Wood River defends its financing of Bush, which was handled personally by Marx. "The investment in Apex was made for good business reasons, and not because Bush was the President's son," says Wood River spokesman Don Dwight. Yet Marx also contributed more than \$100,000 to the senior Bush's presidential campaign.

The SBA too views the Bush financing as legitimate, but the House Small Business Committee has launched an investigation. "We want to know how much money of their own Neil Bush and his partner, Brant Morse, invested in Apex," says a senior staff member of the committee. Wood River's failure is just one in a long list of Small Business Investment Corporation insolvencies totaling \$500 million in the past five years, a record that has prompted the agency to overhaul the rules for such guarantees. —By Jonathan Best/ Los Angeles



Marx, the friendly bankroller



The President's son needed cash to start Apex Energy

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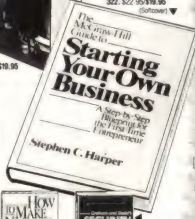
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Everett takes a stand at Hollywood Park

They're Off And Kicking

The race for a famed track pits stars against tycoons

As proxy battles go, the fight for Hollywood Park racetrack ranks as a minor contest. But the cast of characters could have been plucked from the plot of a Dick Francis novel and plunked down in an episode of *Dynasty*. In fact, actor John Forsythe, the patriarch of the defunct TV show, is a star defender of Majorie Everett, the eccentric chairwoman of the company that manages the track in Inglewood, Calif.

Some stockholders charge that Everett, 69, has turned "the track of lakes and flowers" into a second-class operation. The main challenger is R.D. Hubbard, a Texas glassmaking mogul and owner of tracks in Kansas and New Mexico. Hubbard launched a proxy battle last November to gain control of the company's board and install new management, complaining that the company has lost \$27 million in the past three years. Everett supporters like Merv Griffin counter that she has brought many innovations to the track, including simulcasting of events.

Hubbard hired private investigators who, he said, found evidence that Everett has misappropriated funds. According to one allegation, she supplied audiovisual gear at company expense to her friends Ronald and Nancy Reagan. Everett denies the charges. "They won't find a g.d. thing on me," she told the *Wall Street Journal*. Defending Everett's cause, Forsythe got into a shouting match at the track last month with an opposing director.

Hubbard, in his own poll of stockholders, gathered support from 49.4%, just shy of the majority he needs to take over. As a result, he will have to wait for an official count that will take place at the company's annual meeting Feb. 18. Tallyho! ■

Money Angles

Andrew Tobias

Do Yourself a Favor!

Into the meeting walks my 43-year-old friend with two Harvard degrees, partner in a well-known investment bank that, like all investment banks, is cutting back. He runs a small department that should bear much fruit in the 1990s. It specializes in financing companies related to "the environment." It's exactly the kind of investment a company shouldn't trim unless it absolutely has to.

"Well," explained my friend's boss, an even more senior partner, "we absolutely have to." He went around the barn a few times: "Conditions on Wall Street... Got to trim overhead... No reflection on you..."

"O.K.," said my friend, wanting to grab the other shoe before it dropped. "How many of my people do I have to let go?" He could see this was going to be a very lousy day. "You don't understand," said the more senior partner. "We're letting you go." Oops.

The recession has arrived—certainly for him—and if it should come for you or someone you know, I have a suggestion: Now, while you're still working, find a cause and volunteer. Nothing is lost if you're not laid off (as you probably won't be). You'll have contributed a few hours a week to your community. It's something you've probably been meaning to do anyway. But if your number should come up, it would provide an emotional bridge to the next job. You'd already be part of an organization doing valuable work; it's likely you'd be able to expand those efforts from one night a week to several. For the few months it would take you to land another spot, you'd have plenty to feel busy and productive about—because you'd be busy and productive—and you'd have something to say you were doing when people asked.



Volunteers holding crack babies in Chicago

The reason to volunteer now, while you're too busy, is that you're more likely actually to go ahead and do it. You're in a good frame of mind and your sense of self-worth is, justifiably, high. It's amazing how a little gloom can paralyze you. Meet new people? Work for free when you've just been laid off? You may not feel like it. First things first, after all. Yet, far from interfering with your job search, a volunteer job is apt to buoy your spirits—possibly even teach you new skills or establish new contacts—and thus enhance your prospects.

"Texas seems to run counter to the rest of the country," a Houstonian told me last month. "Things are turning up. But do you know what made it really depressing around here until recently? It wasn't all the bankruptcies; it was that people weren't busy. Things are getting busy again. People feel a lot better."

Where to volunteer? There's work in hospitals and libraries and schools; delivering meals to the homebound, assisting the handicapped or cheering the elderly. Want to join Jimmy Carter in building housing for the homeless? Call 800-HABITAT. There's no single national clearinghouse to match volunteers with jobs, but the National Volunteer Center (703-276-0542) can steer you to whichever of its 380 local affiliates is nearest. One area that might be of particular interest to a Time reader: teaching kids or adults to read. If so, call the Literacy Hotline (800-228-8813) for the number of a local organization that needs your help.

If we're lucky, the recession won't last long. If we're not, an upsurge in volunteerism could help to mitigate its effects.

Finally, if you happen to be CEO of a company involved in toxic-waste disposal, you might want to call a brand-new consulting outfit, Environmental Financial Consulting Group in New York, run by this Harvard friend of mine. ■

Sponsor a Child for Only \$12 a Month.

At last! Here is a \$12 sponsorship program for Americans who are unable to send \$20, \$21, or \$22 a month to help a needy child.

And yet, this is a full sponsorship program because for \$12 a month you will receive:

- a 3½" x 5" photograph of the child you are helping.
- two personal letters from your child each year.
- a complete Sponsorship Kit with your child's case history and a special report about the country where your child lives.
- issues of our newsletter, "Sponsorship News."

All this for only \$12 a month?

Yes—because Children International believes that many Americans would like to help a needy child. And so we searched for ways to reduce the cost—without reducing the help that goes to the child you sponsor.

For example, unlike some of the other organizations, your child does not write each month, but two letters a year from your child keep you in contact and, of course, you can write to the child just as often as you wish.

Also, to keep down administrative costs, we do not offer the so-called "trial child" that the other organizations mail to prospective sponsors before the sponsors send any money.

We do not feel that it is fair to the child for a sponsor to decide whether or not to help a child based on a child's photograph or the case history.

Every child who comes to Children International for help is equally needy!

And to minimize overseas costs, our field workers are citizens of the countries where they serve. Many volunteer their time, working directly with families, orphanages and schools.

You can make a difference!

\$12 a month may not seem like much help to many Americans, but to a poor family living on an income of \$1.50 or \$2.00 a day, your sponsorship can help make all the difference in the world.

Will you sponsor a child? Your \$12 a month will help provide so much:

- emergency food, clothing and medical care.
- a chance to attend school.
- help for the child's family and community, with counseling on housing, agriculture, nutrition, and other vital areas to help them become self-sufficient.

A child needs your love!

Here is how you can sponsor a child immediately for only \$12 a month:

1. Fill out the coupon and tell us if you want to sponsor a boy or a girl, and check the country of your choice.
2. Or mark the "Emergency List" box and we will assign a child to you that most urgently needs to have a sponsor.
3. Send your \$12 in right now and this will eliminate the cost of a "trial child."

Then, in just a few days you will receive your child's name, photograph and case history.

May we hear from you? We believe that our sponsorship program protects the dignity of the child and the family and at the same time provides Americans with a positive and beautiful way to help a needy youngster.



Little Maria lives in the Holy Land — and she is only one example of children from countries around the world who urgently need a sponsor.

Sponsorship Application

☐ Yes, I wish to sponsor a child. Enclosed is my first payment of \$12. Please assign me a ☐ Boy ☐ Girl

Country preference: ☐ India ☐ The Philippines ☐ Thailand
☐ Chile ☐ Honduras ☐ Dominican Republic ☐ Colombia
☐ Guatemala ☐ Ecuador ☐ Holy Land Child

☐ OR, choose a child who most needs my help from your EMERGENCY LIST.

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

STATE ZIP

☐ Please send me more information about sponsoring a child.

☐ I can't sponsor a child now, but wish to make a contribution of \$

Please forward your U.S. tax-deductible check, made payable to:

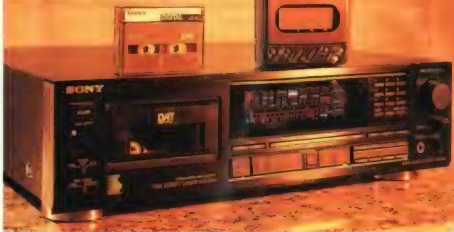
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Discs, DAT and D'other Things

Digital audiotape breaks out into the home-entertainment marketplace



Sony's DAT deck, with Walkman and cassette: handy, user friendly and downright cool—but pricey

By JAY COCKS

Didn't get that CD player you wanted for Christmas? That's all right. Amble down to the local audio vendor—the one with all the fancy futuristic stuff—and check out the digital-audiotape machines. Inquire particularly about the DAT Walkman, a palm-size dynamo that puts compact-disc-quality sound onto a cassette tape. The store should be receiving its first limited shipment this week. The DAT Walkman is guaranteed to cure CD envy. And clean your ears, and your wallet, right out.

Dogged by technophile speculation, consumer wariness and legal wrangling, the DAT format has been the subject of long-standing curiosity and skepticism. Would it really sound as good as a CD? DAT was demonstrably fine in the recording studio, where it has been used since 1987. But would it measure up to the CD for consumer allure? Would it be as handy, as user friendly, as downright cool? Would it be an all-around commercial monster?

The answers, in order: yes; yes; and, well, could be. There's a lot riding on the outcome. Sony is spearheading the DAT charge with its usual high-profile corporate promotion as well as its snazzy technology. "Before, there were LPs and tape cassettes," says Takeshi Inoue, a manager in Sony's DAT Audio Group. "In the future, there will be CDs and DATs."

Response to the first full-size DAT decks, which Sony began to market selectively in the U.S. late this summer, was cautious. "DAT's a great technology," says a

Manhattan retailer. "Our customers are very impressed. But they're buying slowly." Money's tight, of course; a home deck costs \$800 to \$900. But DAT has spent a good deal of its Stateside existence bound up in a series of legal maneuvers by record companies and music publishers who feared that its crystalline sound would encourage a ruinous spurge of home copying. The legal battling over DAT duplicating has been effectively resolved, with the advantage going to the tape: a CD can be copied without even fractional loss of sound quality onto a DAT tape. But the equipment will prevent that copy, even though it can be duplicated on conventional analog cassettes innumerable times, from being copied on another digital tape. Got that? There will be a quiz Monday morning.

As the legal problems fall away, worldwide sales have jumped forward. Industry sources in Japan estimate that nearly 100,000 DAT decks made by Sony, JVC and others were sold in 1990—up from 60,000 in the previous three years combined. "We sold out of the home units," says Arnie Shurofsky of New York City's Grand Central Radio. "And we can't wait to get the Walkman. That's what's going to push DAT into the mass market."

The DATman, as the new small unit is nicknamed, is Sony's ultimate weapon in the DAT wars, a 1-lb. Walkman that will do just about everything the larger home deck will do, and one thing more: record with a microphone. Digital nirvana. The DATman is about the size of a Stephen King paperback, but rather less thick. It uses the same DAT cassette (which is less than half the

size of the traditional analog cassette), records up to two hours of digitized splendor and plays it all back with impeccable fidelity. It makes conventional analog tape sound by comparison like an Edison cylinder.

Among the crucial features of the home deck available on the DATman is the ability to find any track with pinpoint accuracy within seconds. At \$849.95, this will be Sony's priciest Walkman ever. "Like all new consumer products, the initial price is high," admits Michael Vitelli, president of Sony Personal Audio Products, who expects that the first purchasers of the DAT Walkman will be the "high-end audiophile market and music enthusiasts." But, he adds, "the prices tend to come down when the demand is great enough, and the portable capabilities of the DAT Walkman will help popularize the entire DAT format."

Unlike portable CD players, the DAT Walkman isn't susceptible to skipping when the going gets rough. (Sony has also introduced a DAT deck for cars.) The catalog of prerecorded DAT tapes (typical price: \$20) is just beginning to build up, with only about 175 titles available. But as Hirayama Toshikatsu of Panasonic's audio division points out, "The majority of users want to create their own tapes with their own selection of music." Sony spokesman Tsutomu Imai agrees. "Software was important because the CD player was a playback-only machine," he says. "It had to have prerecorded music to succeed. But since DAT is for recording, software is not that important."

Philips, however, is gambling that software is vital. At an electronics show in Las Vegas this week, the Dutch company plans to demonstrate a new system (oh no, not again!) that will record digitally and play both digital and analog cassettes. Several record companies, including Polygram (a Philips subsidiary), have already signed on to make recordings in the new digital compact cassette (DCC) format. Philips says the system will be available in early 1992 and promises it will deliver DAT-quality sound. Experts, however, are dubious. "I think Philips, as the inventor and promoter of the analog cassette, is interested in prolonging its life," says Len Feldman, senior editor of *Audio* magazine. That's understandable. One quick turn with the DAT Walkman demonstrates that the audio future is here, and well in hand. —With reporting by Barry Hiblenbrand/Tokyo and Michael Quinn/New York

Business Notes

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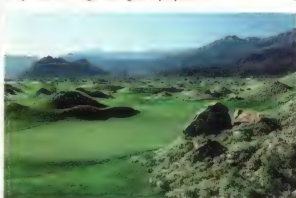
This Meal Has Nine Courses

To the incurable golfer, the club names are almost mythic: Palm Beach, La Quinta, Mission Hills. But the owner of those exotic courses, California's Landmark Land Co., has been stuck for months in that great sand trap of the American economy, the savings and loan crisis. Landmark owns the resorts through a New Orleans subsidiary, Oak Tree Savings Bank, which is under pressure from federal regulators to raise some cash and shore up its finances. As a result, Landmark agreed last week to sell nine golf clubs and resorts for an estimated \$739 million to an in-

vestor group led by Tokyo's Daiichi Real Estate.

While Japanese investment in foreign properties has slowed dramatically, the country's affinity remains high for golf

courses and other resorts. "They think we're the best in the world in golf communities," says Landmark's chairman, Gerald Barton, who will run the properties.



Part of the sale: the PGA West fairways in La Quinta, Calif.

ANTITRUST

Formula for Controversy

When most people gaze at a newborn child, they see a bundle of joy. The makers of infant formula see something else: a bundle of loot. That's the argument of industry critics who claim that the leaders of the

\$1.5 billion formula business have unfairly boosted their prices 150% during the 1980s. Last week the state of Florida filed a lawsuit in federal court against the top U.S. formula makers: Abbott Laboratories (maker of Similac), American Home Products (Nursey) and Bristol-Myers Squibb (Enfamil). The civil suit accuses the companies of fixing and inflating formula prices.

Antitrust accusations have dogged the firms for months. In a congressional hearing last May, Senator Howard Metzenbaum of Ohio denounced the price increases and their "devastating" impact on government programs that buy infant formula for low-income families. Metzenbaum's hearing spurred a still active investigation by the Federal Trade Commission. The companies deny that any conspiracy took place.

ADVERTISING

How Dull Can You Be?

In Florida those pushy lawyers who hawk themselves on TV will have to amend their ways. As of Jan. 1, a new set of rules put a virtual gag on attorneys pushing their services on the tube. They are forbidden to use dramatic scenes, slogans, endorsements from clients, plugs from celebrities, moving pictures—in short, just about anything of greater interest than a test pattern. To top it off, such commercials have to include a disclaimer warning potential customers that they shouldn't be picking attorneys through TV ads in the first place. The Florida Bar Association, which developed the rules, says the dial-a-lawyer ads mislead consumers and influence juries by creating the impression that personal-injury cases are motivated by greed.

LABOR

Even Captains Get the Flu

American Airlines is one of the strongest U.S. carriers, but lately it has been feeling under the weather. Last week the airline said it will have to cancel at least 230 flights, or 11% of its daily schedule, including all its Los Angeles-to-San Francisco flights. American attributed the reduction to a shortage of pilots, who the carrier says have been calling in sick at a high rate—more than 500 on some days, twice the normal number. The airline accuses the pilots of staging an illegal sick-out to put pressure on American in negotiations that have been going on since October 1989 over the pilots' next five-year contract. The pilots deny organizing any sick-out.

In full-page newspaper ads, American embarrassed itself last week when it tried to apologize to passengers for the problems



AApology

Crandall and the corrected ad

caused by the flight cancellations. The airline got the name of the pilots' union wrong, calling it the Airline Pilots Association instead of the Allied Pilots Association. The following day American ran a corrected ad, and tough-talking chairman Robert Crandall had to apologize all over again, this time in a letter to the union.



Top sellers: Is the price right?

BENEFITS

Too Slick with The Pink Slips

The strategy was crafty but cruel. When Continental Can was trying to cut costs in its plants during the late 1970s,

the company employed a secret computer program called BELL, a reverse acronym for Let's Limit Employee Benefits. Managers used the program to target and lay off employees just weeks or months before they were vested in the company pension plan. In that

way, the company aimed to avoid millions of dollars in pension payments.

It was a costly mistake. The United Steel Workers of America filed a class-action suit in 1982 under the Employee Retirement Income Security Act. Federal courts ruled that the

company had acted illegally and ordered Continental to compensate its retired workers. Last week Continental finally reached an agreement under which it will pay \$415 million to 3,000 people, the largest settlement in the 17-year history of ERISA.

Fighting for Yosemite's Future

A Japanese takeover of the park's concessions stirs a debate over who should reap profits from America's natural treasures

By JEANNE MCDOWELL, LOS ANGELES

Few vacation spots can match Yosemite National Park's rare combination of wild beauty and civilized comfort. At the Ahwahnee Hotel, guests book reservations a year in advance to watch the alpenglow off the majestic Half Dome from cozy rooms equipped with TVs and minibars. When not ice skating, skiing or hiking through the mountain slopes clad with ponderosa pines, visitors can patronize a pizza parlor, a gourmet deli, a one-hour photo service, an automatic bank teller and, of course, a gift shop full of coffee mugs and T-shirts with the Yosemite logo.

Is the commercialism encroaching on the nation's wild lands a good thing? If it is, who should reap the profits? Those issues gained new urgency last week, when Matsushita, the Japanese electronics giant, took control of MCA, the California-based entertainment conglomerate. MCA—and now Matsushita—owns the Yosemite Park and Curry Co., which operates the park's lodging facilities, restaurants, shops and services. In 1989 those concessions generated about \$78 million in sales and an estimated \$14 million to \$17 million in profits. But under its sweetheart contract with the National Park Service, the company had to pay the government only \$635,000. Such a huge private profit from a national resource is questionable enough, but the possibility that the money might flow to Japan is doubly troubling to many Americans.

Eager to avoid criticism, Matsushita offered to sell the park-concession company to a U.S. firm within a year. But that pledge was not enough to satisfy Interior Secretary Manuel Lujan Jr., whose department includes the Park Service. Lujan threatened to cancel the Yosemite company's contract, which still has two years to run, on the ground that MCA and Matsushita did not get government permission to change the management of the concessions. The Interior Secretary appears to be playing rough in an effort to persuade Matsushita to donate the park company to the government or to sell the operation to a nonprofit group at a below-market price.

The dispute over Yosemite's profits throws a spotlight on a problem all too



Visitors can skate and ski in the wilderness, but they also enjoy civilized comforts, like a well-stocked gourmet deli

common in the biggest national parks. The Park Service has been lax in monitoring the concessioner contracts and ensuring that the government gets a fair share of the income. According to an Interior Department report, the concessioners reaped revenues of \$500 million in 1988 but paid the government only \$12.5 million in franchise fees. Environmentalists view the sale of the Yosemite company as an opportunity to revamp the process and shift the management philosophy of the parks away from excessive commercialism. "The parks should be the environmental reservoirs of

the world, places we populate with songbirds and other species," says Paul Pritchard, president of the National Parks and Conservation Association. "They are not there to provide more accommodations for visitors and more tourism dollars."

Though the concessions in 80% of the parks are mom-and-pop operations, the Yosemite company is not the only Park Service contractor reaping hefty revenues. TW Recreational Services rang up \$49 million at Yellowstone in 1989, and Amfac Resorts, which runs the south rim of the Grand Canyon, pulled in \$23 million. Such firms contend that their size and financial strength have helped to make the parks more attractive places.

"One of the reasons national parks are liked so much is that they have the greatest visitor facilities because the private sector has put money in," says Rex Maughan, chairman of the Conference of National Park Concessioners. "If we go to another system and the government gets involved, we will see the degradation of our national parks."

Theoretically, the Park Service has the power to approve everything from the rate of return on a contract to hotel-room décor. Over the years, though, the concessioners have become a powerful lobby in Washington, and the Park Service a pushover. "[The concessioners] are to parks what the defense industry is to the military," says Pritchard. In 1989, for example, Edward Hardy, president of the Yosemite Park and Curry Co., won \$1.5 million in congressional appropriations for a new concessioner-employee dormitory at a time when Yosemite's \$13.9 million budget was stretched to the limit.

Hardy and former California Congressman Tony Coelho are reportedly teaming up in an effort to buy the company from Matsushita. But there will be other bidders. A coalition of preservationists has formed the Yosemite Restoration Trust, a nonprofit organization that aims to buy the concessioner and put into effect a 1980 federal plan for reducing commercialism at the park.

The group would be hard-pressed to hold back the crush of tourism. During the peak summer months, 7,000 visitors a day transform Yosemite Valley into an urbanized village of noisy bumper-to-bumper traffic and bicycle jams. To many nature lovers, the land that pioneering preservationist John Muir extolled for its "spiritual glow" and "sublime mountain beauty" has already been irreversibly damaged. ■

Press

Black, White and Green All Over

A fresher of ecopublishers reaches out to the mainstream

Most environmentalists espouse recycling, but Andre Carothers, editor of the bimonthly *Greenpeace*, implores his readers to pass the magazine on to friends or institutions before letting it go to the shredder. Now Carothers himself is looking for a wider audience for *Greenpeace*, which normally serves as a bonus house organ for 2 million members of its eponymous environmental organization. Last week he started to put some 20,000 copies of the publication on national newsstands and in bookstores, hoping to attract new readers with "information and avenues for action that are useful to the movement and the planet."

Carothers is not alone. Suddenly, a fresher of environmental publications—some old, like *Greenpeace*, some new—is striving for a mainstream audience, feeding on the growing awareness of a planetary threat. "The world is going to hell, and people are reading about soap operas," scolds Doug Moss, founder of *E*, a year-old bimonthly (circ. 75,000), who sees his competition as "fluff magazines that I wish would go away." New titles like *Garbage*, *Buzzworm* and *Design Spirit*—all aimed at general readers—have joined *Audubon*, *Mother Earth News* and other more established journals that have recently increased their emphasis on environmental concerns.

Greenpeace is the most opinionated of the new group. The current issue attacks



Editor Carothers in the *Greenpeace* offices

Opinionated, redesigned and recyclable for the future.

Senator Richard Lugar and Congressman Kika de la Garza for allegedly helping allow imported vegetables to be treated with chemicals banned in the U.S. and derides *U.S. News & World Report* for promoting the views of a nuclear-industry coalition. Redesignated to enhance its appeal to general readers, the 28-page journal, which sells for \$1.95, still resembles a house organ more than a slick consumer magazine. It is packed with reporting on the politics of nuclear testing, firsthand accounts of *Greenpeace* nautical confrontations with the Soviets and surprisingly attractive graphics. But it suffers from an overreliance on unnamed and *Greenpeace*-connected sources for its allegations and opinions.

Garbage, a Brooklyn-based bimonthly

that has increased its circulation 50%, to 150,000, in its first year of publication, generally limits its advocacy to environmental consumerism. Articles focus on practical topics like designing kitchens for recycling and gardening without pesticides.

Publisher Patricia Poore says she provides "tips and tools" for readers who "want to get off the consume-it, then trash-it treadmill." *E*, a bimonthly based in Norwalk, Conn., publishes a mixture of opinion and news articles and openly encourages political activism. At the end of a story about whale hunting, for instance, readers are invited to lobby for legislation that would protect the endangered mammals. By contrast, *Buzzworm*, a Boulder-based bimonthly (circ. 75,000), shies away from editorializing. "We're the only magazine that doesn't take a stand," boasts publisher Joseph Daniels. Instead the magazine specializes in photo spreads of wildlife and exotic locations.

In line with their high-minded mission, almost all the ecomagazines are printed on recycled paper. *Greenpeace* accepts no advertising, and *E* takes ads only from makers of such products as cotton grocery bags and organic popcorn. Some of the other magazines are less restrictive, so long as an advertiser's message is judged to be environmentally sound. "Even a little bit of good from a bad company is good," says Daniels. None of the new titles have yet produced anything but red ink. Still their publishers are optimistic. Says Poore: "Given the information, people tend to do the right thing." So far as she and the other ecopublishers are concerned, green is the color of the future.

—By Leslie Whitaker

Milestones

MARRIED. Vanna White, 33, well-appointed letter turner for the popular TV game show *Wheel of Fortune*; and George Santo Pietro, 44, Los Angeles restaurant owner; she for the first time, he for the second; on New Year's Eve; in Aspen, Colo.

PLEADED GUILTY. Christian Brando, 32, charged last year in the murder of his half-sister's friend, Dag Drollet; in Santa Monica, Calif. Brando, eldest son of actor Marlon Brando, claims Drollet was shot during an argument. He plea-bargained a first-degree-murder charge down to voluntary manslaughter with the use of a firearm, for which he could get up to 16 years in prison.

DIED. Felipe Benito Archuleta, 80, New Mexico folk artist whose works have been shown in such major museums as the

Smithsonian in Washington; in Tesuque, N. Mex. Archuleta carved ferocious and funny animals of wood, then embellished them with familiar objects like marbles, terry cloth and straw bristles.

DIED. Lucius ("Luke") Appling, 83, slick-fielding, Hall of Fame shortstop; in Cumming, Ga. Known as "Old Aches and Pains" for complaining to teammates about his ailments, Appling compiled a .310 lifetime batting average and 2,749 hits in his 20 seasons with the Chicago White Sox. In 1982, at 75, he delighted the crowd at an Old Timers game in Washington by slamming a home run off Warren Spahn.

DIED. Thomas Stanley ("T.S.") Matthews, 89, critic, novelist, biographer, poet, journalist and, from 1943 to 1949, managing

editor of *TIME*; in Cavendish, England. Born in Cincinnati, Matthews graduated from Princeton and New College, Oxford, and joined *TIME* in 1929 as books editor. When *TIME* co-founder Henry R. Luce named him to lead the magazine through the war and postwar period, Matthews responded with characteristic candor: "1) I am married, and *TIME* is not the name of my wife. 2) I am not yet completely licked as a writer. 3) I hate the Republican Party. 4) As a reader and as a writer, I consider *TIME* badly written..." His editing could be merciless. "Choctaw! Try it again in English" was penciled on one convoluted effort, Matthews' 15 books include *Name and Address: An Autobiography*, critical studies of English essayist Charles Lamb and the poet T.S. Eliot and *O My America! Notes on a Trip*.



Medicine

● COVER STORIES

A Puzzling Plague

What is it about the American way of life that causes breast cancer?

By CLAUDIA WALLIS



In the bad old days, some 20 years ago, no one had the heart even to talk about it. Breast cancer struck the most evident of a woman's assets, where the motherly and the erotic are joined. And treatment of the disease was a nightmare of pain, dis-

figurement and uncertainty too terrifying to contemplate. A seemingly healthy woman with nothing more than a tiny lump in her breast (and a larger one forming in her throat) could agree to have a biopsy performed and not know whether she would awake from surgery with a small bandage on her breast—or no breast at all.

Much has changed since then. For one

thing, breast cancer is widely discussed. Celebrity after celebrity—a veritable Breast Cancer Hall of Fame—has stepped forward to demystify the disease and soften its stigma, beginning with Shirley Temple Black, Ingrid Bergman and Betty Ford, and more recently including Nancy Reagan and Gloria Steinem. Lessons on cancer detection and the importance of mammo-



One out of every ten American women will get breast cancer. Of those who do, one out of four will die of it.

grams are the subject of elaborate public information campaigns.

More important, the surgical and post-surgical options have multiplied. Chastened by better educated and more demanding patients, doctors now wait after a positive biopsy to discuss these options before moving in to amputate. Just last year a consensus meeting convened by the National Institutes of Health formally recommended lumpectomy, the removal of a cancerous lump plus a small amount of surrounding tissue, followed by radiation therapy, as an equally effective alternative to breast removal in many cases. And the success rate for treatment is up—not dramatically, but up. Nowadays, 76.6% of breast-cancer patients survive five years after surgery, and 63% are alive 10 or more years later. In 1970 the five-year survival rate was 68%.

But there is also bad news about breast cancer. The number of cases continues to soar. According to the National Cancer Institute (NCI), the U.S. incidence increased 32% between 1982 and 1987. Only lung can-

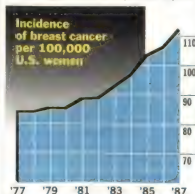
cer is rising faster. Cancer is the leading cause of death for women 35 to 50, and breast cancer is the most common malignancy in this age group. All in all, an American woman has a 1-in-10 chance of developing breast cancer over the course of her lifetime, and that risk keeps on rising.

The big question is why. Most experts

on the disease agree that part of the increase can be attributed to earlier detection of tumors. Some 65% of American women over 40 have had a mammogram, up from about 20% in 1979. The widespread use of this tool, a low-dose X ray of the breasts, has meant that more women are discovering their tumors in the early stages, before a lump can be felt. In past decades, prior to the spread of mammography, such women might have died of other causes before their breast cancer was diagnosed.

Nonetheless, most investigators of the epidemic believe early detection is only part of the story. They look at the fact that breast cancer is far less common in other parts of the world and conclude, ominously, that the answer lies in some facet of the American life-style. "Something in our environment is contributing," contends Dr. Marc Lippman of Georgetown University.

Study after study has explored the possibilities. Could it be the birth control pill? Probably not, since dozens of investigations into that question have produced a quag-



TIME Chart Source: National Cancer Institute. Annual figures are for all ages.

Medicine



The ouch factor: a good mammogram is uncomfortable

Two out of three older women fail to get checked regularly.

mire of contradictions. How about smoking? Again, there is no clear connection. Alcohol? Drinking seems to raise the risk of the disease slightly, but the association is too weak to account for America's prodigious rate. What about the widespread use of estrogen therapy following menopause? Studies show only a mildly elevated risk. And while food additives and even lack of sunlight have come under suspicion, there is little evidence to convict them.

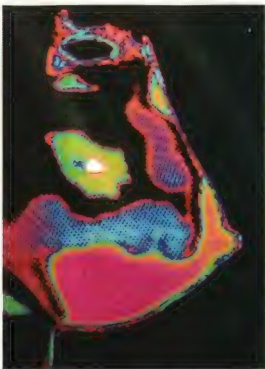
THE FAT FACTOR

Instead, many researchers around the world are pointing to another component of the Western way of life: a diet rich in fat. Researchers have known for more than 40 years that high-fat diets promote the growth of mammary tumors in laboratory animals. They have also observed that the varying rates of breast cancer in various countries correlate neatly with the amount of fat in a nation's diet. The U.S., Britain and the Netherlands, which have some of the world's richest diets, also have among the highest breast-cancer rates. Meanwhile, in countries such as Japan, Singapore and Romania, where the diet is very lean, the incidence of breast cancer is one-sixth to one-half the U.S. rate.

On the theory that genetic factors might be responsible for such national variations, researchers have looked at immigrant groups. They have found that

when Japanese move to the U.S., or Italians to Australia, their previously low breast-cancer mortality rate rises to match the higher rate of their adopted country within a generation or two, as diet and lifestyle change. "The results are too consistent to believe that the association is indirect," says Maureen Henderson, an epidemiologist at the Fred Hutchinson Cancer Research Center in Seattle. When it comes to the breast cancer-fat connection, she says flatly, "I'm sure of it."

Japanese researchers are also convinced. Breast cancer is one of the fastest-growing diseases among Japanese women, with the incidence up 58% between 1975 and 1985. "The largest factor behind the sharp rise is the Westernization of eating habits," says Dr. Akira Eboshida, chief deputy director of the Health and Welfare Ministry's Disease Control Division. "We are eating more animal fat and less fiber." Cancer of the breast is not the only ailment rising with the larding of the Japanese diet. Heart disease is also surging, as is cancer of the colon, ovaries and prostate. All have been linked to a high-fat diet. On the other hand, stomach cancer, historically the most common cancer in Japan, is falling as the nation moves away from its traditional diet of salty, pickled and smoked foods. "If the current trend continues," predicts Eboshida, "breast cancer will replace stomach cancer as the No. 1 killer of Japanese women in the next century."



A color-enhanced mammogram shows a white spot of cancer

The technique reveals pinpoint tumors undetectable by touch.

Despite such evidence, not everyone shares the conviction that fat is the villain. Critics of this theory point out that statistical correlations are not the same as proving cause and effect. Many researchers argue that there are probably several lifestyle factors rather than a single culprit. "The high rates are not due to one bad habit, but to our whole way of life," says Mary-Claire King, a cancer geneticist at the University of California, Berkeley.

According to Dr. Walter Willett at the Harvard School of Public Health, overall calories may play a larger role than fat: Americans may simply be eating too well. Willett points out that breast-cancer rates tend to be highest in prosperous countries where people are well nourished. In such lands of plenty, girls begin to menstruate at an earlier age, women tend to have their children later in life and menopause also comes later. Late menopause (after 50), delayed childbearing (after 30) and early onset of menstruation (before 12) are all acknowledged "risk factors" for breast cancer. For older women, obesity also increases the risk of the disease. King notes that better education and job opportunities for women have furthered the trend toward postponed motherhood and childlessness (also a risk factor). "All the things that cause women to be healthy, well-educated and have careers put them at risk for breast cancer."

Critics of the fat theory also point to

several studies that seem to refute it, including a survey by Willett of 90,000 nurses from 34 to 59. Though the diets ranged from 32% fat content to about 44% (the U.S. average is 42%), the Harvard researcher could find no correlation between fat intake and the incidence of breast tumors. One problem with Willett's study: many researchers believe that dietary fat must be more radically reduced, to about 20% of total calories, to affect the occurrence of breast cancer.

The proof, of course, is in the pudding, or in this case, not eating any. Unfortunately, researchers seeking conclusive evidence of the effects of a very low-fat diet have had little success in obtaining funds. One concern is cost. Another is that women participating in such trials would have trouble adhering to the drastic regimen, which would mean very limited amounts of meat, dairy products and oils of any kind.

To show that it can be done, Henderson in Seattle completed a three-year pilot study, funded by the National Institutes of Health, of 2,000 postmenopausal women who were painstakingly taught how to follow a 20% fat diet. "We give them a Ph.D. in fat," she explains. Her hope was that the pilot would lead to NIH funding of a 10-year effort with 24,000 women. No such luck. A competing proposal for a similar study that would cost \$107 million was on the verge of being financed when an NCJ advisory panel decided last month to put it on hold—a crushing disappointment for many researchers.

THE ESTROGEN CONNECTION

If fat does figure in the development of breast cancer, just what role does it play? No one in the research community believes that too many thick shakes and fries can in themselves cause normal, well-behaved cells to mutate into unruly malignant ones. In fact, no one has the faintest notion what causes the initial genetic changes to occur. "In lung cancer we have a reasonable idea that the major cause is cigarette smoking," says Dr. Philip Leder, chairman of Harvard's department of genetics. "In skin cancer we understand that the major cause is ultraviolet light, which is absorbed by DNA and causes it to break. But with breast cancer we don't have any idea what the precipitating factors are."

Doctors have long been convinced that some people are genetically predisposed to develop breast cancer. A woman whose mother or sister had the disease before menopause has five to six times the usual risk of developing it. If either one had the

disease in both breasts, then the woman's risk is five to 10 times the norm.

Though scientists do not know how breast cancer begins, they do have some ideas about how it progresses. The female hormone estrogen, which is produced in the ovaries and causes a young girl's breasts to develop, also plays an unmistakable role in promoting the growth of tumor cells. Why do childlessness, late menopause, early onset of menstruation and delayed childbearing all increase the risk of breast cancer? One likely explanation is that all involve a prolonged, uninterrupted

overall levels of estrogen and especially large amounts of the "biologically active" form. Equally significant, endocrinologist David Rose of the Naylor Dana Institute in Valhalla, N.Y., has found that when women switch to a very low-fat diet (20% of total calories), their estrogen levels quickly drop by 20%. Advocates of the dietary-fat theory regard this observation as a crucial bit of supporting evidence. Given estrogen's established role in promoting breast cancer, the fact that fatty foods directly affect estrogen levels means that, as Maureen Henderson puts it, "it's biologically rational that fat can influence cancer."

Considering all the fuss over fish oil and polyunsaturates in the world of heart disease, one might wonder if the type of fat consumed makes any difference. "The data are very confusing on this," admits Rose. Some researchers believe that certain fats are more villainous than others with respect to cancer, but Henderson and others say all fat should be reduced. Drastically.

THE MAMMOGRAM MUDDLE

Until the government decides to fund a long-term dietary study and until the work is completed, the value of an ultralow-fat diet in preventing breast cancer will remain open to question. For women 40 or older, however, there is one bit of medical counsel that has almost unanimous approval: Get a mammogram. Now. And do it regularly.

Consider these facts. By the time a breast tumor is large enough to be felt as a lump, it is generally more than 1 cm (0.4 in.) in diameter and contains several billion cancer cells, some of which may have broken loose, circulated through the bloodstream and begun to infiltrate other organs. A mammogram can detect pinpoint tumors that are less than 0.5 cm (0.2 in.) across, often well before the process of metastasis has started. This is not to say that a manual exam by a doctor or the woman herself is a waste of time. Such exams can sometimes turn up tumors missed by X rays. But the early-detection capability of mammography clearly saves lives. A 1987 study found that for women whose tumors were discovered early by mammograms, the five-year survival rate was about 82%, as opposed to 60% for a control group.

And if that is not incentive enough, early detection through mammography can sometimes bring another bonus: surgery that spares the breast. A small, early tumor can often be removed with a lumpectomy procedure rather than a mastectomy.

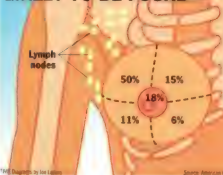
Why, then, aren't American women running en masse to the mammographer's

HOW THE RISK SHAPES UP



Obese women who carry excess weight on their upper bodies (apple shaped) are at three times the average risk of getting breast cancer, possibly because they have unusually high levels of certain estrogens. Overweight women who are pear shaped have no increased risk. Apple-shaped women are also more susceptible to heart disease and diabetes.

WHERE CANCER IS MOST LIKELY TO BE FOUND



The Diagrams by Joe Legato

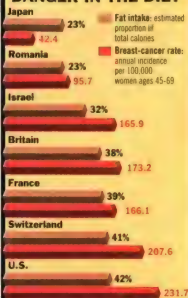
Source: American Cancer Society

presence of high levels of estrogen in the bloodstream. Doctors have also noticed that women whose ovaries were removed before age 40 rarely get breast cancer.

Researchers focusing on the role of fat in the development of cancer have been particularly intrigued by the estrogen connection. Biologists have long known that estrogen is produced not only in the ovaries but also in fat cells. Obese women have higher levels of estrogen than thin ones—a probable factor in their greater risk of breast cancer after menopause.

But it has been only in the past five years that researchers have found a link between estrogen levels and fat in the diet. Women who eat lots of hamburgers, thick shakes and other fatty foods have higher

DANGER IN THE DIET



An intriguing link with eating habits: a Seattle woman, participating in a study on cancer prevention, prepares a special low-fat meal



office? Why do less than a third of women over 40 have mammograms every one to two years, as experts recommend? One reason may be lingering fears about radiation exposure. Nowadays, however, mammography doses are about one-tenth of what they were 20 years ago—less than one receives from cosmic rays on an airplane flight. A more significant factor, says Dr. Sarah Fox, a UCLA professor of family medicine, is “that physicians aren’t making the recommendations.” Doctors often feel that mammograms are unnecessary for women who are not in a high-risk category. “Sometimes they’ll say, ‘You’ve had a couple of children and you’ve got no family history, so relax,’” explains Dr. Robert Smith of the Centers for Disease Control in Atlanta. Yet three out of four breast-cancer victims have no known risk factors, says Smith. No woman over 40 should consider herself safe. And certainly her doctor should know better.

The cost of mammograms may also discourage women. Insurance frequently fails to cover the \$50 to \$200 procedure. Medicare just began paying for it this year. Public hospitals do not always offer such screening, and some state Medicaid programs have refused to provide reimbursements, which helps explain why breast cancer is often diagnosed too late among the poor. For black women in particular, the five-year survival rate is only 64%, in contrast to 77% for white women.

Adding to the confusion on mammography is the unfortunate fact that medicine’s powerful professional societies cannot agree on what to recommend. The American Cancer Society urges a mammogram every one or two years for women be-

tween ages 40 and 49, and annually thereafter. The American College of Physicians disagrees, claiming that a mammogram is not “cost-effective” for women under 50, since only 20% of malignancies occur in these women.

As if matters were not muddled enough, a storm has erupted in recent years over the uneven quality and accuracy of mammograms around the U.S. “Half the states do not have a licensing procedure for radiologic technologists. It could be the office receptionist pushing those buttons,” warns Marie Zinninger, a quality-control specialist for the American College of Radiology. Another problem, according to the National Cancer Institute, is that General Electric, Philips and other manufacturers have flooded the market with mammography machines. Many wind up in the offices of doctors who lack the proper training in the use and maintenance of these machines. The College of Radiology has responded with a drive, launched in 1989, to examine and certify mammography facilities. It advises patients to choose a high-volume accredited facility. Another sign that a mammogram is up to snuff: the ouch factor. To get a good picture, the mammography machine must compress the breast. “If you’re not uncomfortable,” says UCLA’s Fox, “you’re probably getting a bad mammogram.”

A POLITICAL SOLUTION?

In recent years a ground swell of breast-cancer victims, feminists and legislators, inspired by the success of the AIDS lobby in bringing attention and funds to that epidemic, have been pushing for better

regulation of mammography standards, for mandatory insurance coverage of mammograms, and generally for more research into the still mysterious roots of breast cancer. They point out that the U.S. government spends only \$77 million a year investigating ways to prevent the illness, against \$648 billion on heart-disease prevention. Last week Congresswoman Mary Rose Oakar of Ohio sought to redress the shortfall by introducing a bill that would add \$25 million to the NIH budget expressly for basic research on breast cancer. Meanwhile the National Women’s Health Network, a lobbying group in Washington, continues to press for federal funding of studies on the effects of diet.

But given the demands on the limited federal research budget, such efforts will probably fail. Perhaps as unfortunate, notes Dr. Geoffrey Howe, a leading researcher on cancer and diet at the University of Toronto, is the fact that “political pressure is the criterion for deciding what scientific research needs to be done.”

For patients, the lack of answers and of resources to find them amounts to an all too literal deadlock. “I am scheduled to die because I have metastatic breast cancer,” says Elenore Pred, founder of the Breast Cancer Action group in San Francisco. “I’m part of the 44,000 women for whom there is no cure. But I refuse to be written off.” Pred is devoting her days to lobbying for more research and better public education on the disease. As the mother of two daughters, she could leave them no healthier legacy.

—Reported by J. Madeline Nash/Chicago and James Willwerth/Los Angeles

The Rough Road to Recovery

Options for therapy have multiplied, but making the right choices can be daunting for both doctors and patients

By CLAUDIA WALLIS



Colleen Fallscheer, a cheerful 40-year-old mother of two from Waterford, Mich., is living proof that breast-cancer therapy is not the horror show it used to be. A little over a year ago, a mammogram revealed a bright malignant spot, no more than 1.5 cm (about 0.6 in.) across, imbedded in the translucent tissue of her left breast. A surgeon recommended a mastectomy, to be followed by chemotherapy. Fallscheer was appalled. She sought a second opinion from David August, a surgical oncologist at the University of Michigan Medical Center, who told her that her tiny malignancy made her an ideal candidate for a lumpectomy, a less drastic procedure.

Last November, in a two-hour operation, Dr. August's team removed the cancer plus a margin of surrounding tissue, leaving Fallscheer with a 5-cm (about 2-in.) scar in an otherwise normal-looking breast. To catch any residual cancer cells, she received six weeks of daily radiation therapy, which produced a light suntan but left no permanent trace. "A lumpectomy plus radiation does not cure more women than mastectomy," says radiation oncologist Allen Lichter of the University of Michigan, "but it creates fewer physical and emotional scars." Fallscheer concurs: "It was only after I saw Dr. August that I felt I wasn't going to die after all."

Ten years ago, lumpectomy would not have been an option for Fallscheer. Since then, studies have shown that when a tumor is small, confined to a single area and readily accessible to the surgeon's scalpel, lump removal plus radiation is no less effective than removing the entire breast. But as Fallscheer's experience shows, not every surgeon is convinced. Nor does every eligible patient choose the lesser operation. Though about 50% of breast-cancer patients are candidates for lumpectomy, only about half of those elect it. Many, including Nancy Reagan, feel safer if the en-



The "caterpillar stage": Crossley, who received high-dose chemotherapy, gets a checkup

tire breast is removed. "For most women, whether or not they lose their pectorals is not the issue," explains University of Chicago surgeon Monica Morrow. "It's whether or not they lose their lives."

Choice of surgery is only the first of many decisions faced by patients and doctors. None are simple, and women sometimes get the impression that there are as many variations in therapy as there are doctors. The key question following surgery, however, is whether the cancer has spread. It is not localized disease in the breast that kills more than 40,000 U.S. women a year, but the dissemination of the cancer to other, more vital organs, usually the brain, the bones, the liver or lungs.

To determine if the deadly process of metastasis has begun, surgeons performing mastectomies and lumpectomies routinely remove 10 to 25 lymph nodes from under the arm near the affected breast and examine these glandular structures for signs of cancer. A woman with "positive" nodes has a 37% to 75% chance of a cancer relapse within five years, depending on the number of affected nodes and the size of the original tumor. In such cases, chemotherapy or hormone therapy will be urged.

The kind of drug treatment depends on many things, including a woman's age and the biology of her tumors. The cancer cells of postmenopausal patients often require the hormone estrogen in order to grow. If lab tests show the presence of estrogen receptors in a tumor (a sign of a good prognosis), therapy with tamoxifen, an estrogen-blocking drug, is usually recommended. It reduces the risk of disease recurrence by approxi-

mately 20%, with relatively mild side effects.

Younger women and those who have no estrogen receptors usually receive combinations of two to five chemotherapy agents, such as Cytosin and methotrexate, over a period of four months to a year. Because these drugs target rapidly dividing cells, they not only destroy cancer cells but also cells in the hair follicles, the lining of the digestive tract and the bone marrow. That produces the dreaded side effects of chemo: hair loss, nausea and a decline in infection-fighting white blood cells. Premature menopause can be another consequence. Even this harsh treatment provides no guarantee of a cure, though in certain groups of patients, it can increase survival rates as much as 40%.

Today, thanks to the widespread use of mammograms, breast tumors are being discovered earlier, before the cancer has spread. Now 60% of patients are "node negative," up from 50% 10 years ago. Increasingly, cancers are being found at a very early, localized stage, known as "in situ carcinoma" (cancer in place).

While early detection vastly improves the chances of a cure, it also raises questions for doctors. No one is certain how much treatment is right for in situ carcinoma. Nor is it easy to determine therapy for patients whose cancer has begun to spread but has not yet affected the lymph nodes. Experience has shown that up to 30% of these node-negative women will develop a recurrence. The question: Which 30%?

Frequently, doctors use a variety of factors to determine which patients are at highest risk. One major consideration: tumor size. "One centimeter [0.4 in.] is considered the major turning point," says Dr.

Larry Norton at Memorial Sloan-Kettering in New York City. "Over 1 cm, and I lean very strongly toward additional treatment." A close look at the tumor cells will provide other clues, says Dr. William McGuire, chief of medical oncology at the University of Texas Health Science Center at San Antonio. Misspoken cell nuclei, abnormal amounts of DNA or an accelerated rate of cell division are all bad signs, suggesting a need for chemotherapy or tamoxifen. Newer tests include examining tumor cells for extra copies of cancer-causing genes or excess amounts of an enzyme called Cathepsin D, which seems to play a role in metastasis. Says McGuire: "Today we know that if you have a low score on all these markers, your chance of recurrence is less than 10%. If you score high, your chance is greater than 50%."

To have the cancer return even after the trauma of surgery and the misery of chemotherapy is the nightmare of every patient. When this happens, the outlook is grim. But in recent years doctors have been experi-

menting with a controversial treatment for advanced and recurring breast cancer that involves massive doses of chemotherapy and a bone-marrow transplant. Annette Crossley, 45, of Glendora, Calif., is hoping it will save her life. Crossley suffered a cancer relapse just a few months after completing a course of treatment that included a mastectomy, chemotherapy and radiation. Given slim odds of survival, she chose to try the new treatment at the University of Chicago Medical Center. Over a five-day period, she received intravenous chemotherapy in four to seven times the usual doses. Because such treatment destroys the bone marrow, healthy marrow was extracted from Crossley's pelvic bone before she began the toxic therapy. After the sessions and some rest, the marrow was re-injected into her body.

Such high-dose therapy is perilous. Until the transplanted marrow replenishes the patient's supply of white blood cells, she is highly vulnerable to infection. Jacob Bitran, Crossley's oncologist, believes that

the procedure is worth the risk. He and his associates have treated 67 advanced breast-cancer patients in this manner over the past four years. Though 11 have died of complications, mostly infections, 16 are in complete remission, seemingly disease free. "That means 1 in every 4 is a long-term survivor," he says. Others are not persuaded. "I am not convinced that we have the benefits to justify the toxicity," says Harvard oncologist I. Craig Henderson, noting that, regardless of treatment, 10% of women with advanced, metastatic disease will be alive after 10 years. Such doubts have led many insurance companies to refuse to pay for the procedure, which typically costs about \$120,000.

For Annette Crossley, cost is not the main concern. Slowly regaining strength, with little hair left on her head, she remains a picture of hope. "This is the caterpillar stage," she says, grinning gamely. "The ugly stage before the butterfly comes out."

—Reported by J. Madeleine Nash/

Ann Arbor

Restoring Lost Curves and Confidence

Last November, at the age of 43, Carol Beebe lost her left breast to cancer. But when she awoke from mastectomy surgery at New York City's Columbia-Presbyterian Medical Center and gazed down at her chest, nothing appeared to be missing. Beebe, an IBM employee from Point Pleasant, N.J., had chosen to have a reconstruction of her breast immediately following the mastectomy. In a single operation, plastic surgeons shaped a new breast from Beebe's own abdominal tissue, moving it into place minutes after the general surgeons had removed the diseased breast. The technique spares the patient the anguish of amputation. "Our basic philosophy is that you don't leave the hospital without a breast," explains Plastic and Reconstructive Surgery chairman Norman Hugo, who performed the operation.

Rebuilding the breast after mastectomy has become increasingly popular in recent years: more than 34,000 U.S. women chose some form of reconstruction in 1988, up 71% from 1981, according to the American Society of Plastic and Reconstructive Surgeons. Younger patients are particularly drawn to the procedure, though Hugo has reconstructed breasts for women of all ages and types, including a nun.

The majority of reconstructions are done with implants, small bags that are inserted under the muscle of the chest wall and filled with either silicone gel or saline solution. The inflation must be done gradually over a period of weeks to allow time for the muscle and skin to stretch, a process that can cause discomfort and sometimes lead to infections.

Linda Lehman, 43, a mother of two from Newville, Pa., received two silicone implants last February, three months after undergoing double mastectomies. That summer she went out

and bought a new two-piece swimsuit. "Losing your breasts is a terrible experience," she says. "You mourn the loss. You have the same phantom feelings as when you lose a limb." The implants, she says, have restored her spirit along with her figure. "I wear more revealing clothing than before, and I've never looked better."

Silicone implants are not without drawbacks. Because they sit high on the chest and are compactly curved, the implants most closely reproduce the look of a young woman's breast and can be a poor match for an older patient. They can also

make the breast feel hard, interfere with mammography and, on occasion, rupture, causing inflammation if silicone has been used. This spring, as a result of pressure from patient-advocacy groups and members of Congress, the FDA will require implant manufacturers to provide proof of the safety of their products. Still, many surgeons say the risks have been exaggerated.

Reconstruction using a flap of abdominal tissue, as Beebe had, avoids most of the implant problems but is a far more complex operation, lasting upwards of six hours and requiring a longer recovery period.

The plastic surgeon must carve a large, almond-shape swath from the belly, about 16 cm by 30 cm (6 in. by 12 in.), carefully lifting up the skin, fat and an underlying muscle, without severing the artery that supplies the tissue. The flap is then fashioned into a new breast. A new nipple can be created later by twisting the tissue and tattooing on an areola. For Beebe, there was abdominal pain at first and cramping of the relocated muscle that continued for several weeks following her surgery. But she has no doubt that she made the right choice. "It feels natural and moves naturally," she says. "I don't even feel like I've lost a breast. It's just a little different now."



Breast, left, rebuilt with abdominal tissue

Tantalizing Clues to a Lethal Legacy

Research into the genetic factors is raising hopes of better screening and treatment

By J. MADELINE NASH CHICAGO



To most women, the notion of undergoing a mastectomy in order to prevent breast cancer smacks of wild paranoia. But for Maria Burkhardt of Covington, La., the unthinkable slowly became the inevitable. Twenty years ago, an aunt was stricken with the disease. Her mother died from it a decade later. In 1986 Maria's younger sister Jo Ann began fighting for her life. Next her older sister Rose developed an aggressive tumor. Maria consulted a doctor and was told she was "a ticking time bomb." Ominously, her tissues were judged too dense for mammograms to scan reliably.

So last summer, at 47, Maria decided to have both breasts removed. Her own graceful curves were replaced with silicone implants that harbored no trace of her family's lethal legacy. A short time later, Maria received a report that vindicated her decision. A postoperative examination of her breast tissue had found precancerous lesions. "I just broke down and cried," she recalls. "I'd done this knowing I might never know if I'd made the right choice."

Families like Maria Burkhardt's are rare, accounting for a tiny fraction of breast-cancer cases. But the malvolent genes they pass down through the generations are beginning to yield important clues to all breast malignancies. "Cancer," declares celebrated molecular biologist James D. Watson, "is a disease of the DNA," the master molecule that encodes the genetic blueprint for every living cell. Tumors develop as the result of rearrangements in DNA, specifically in the genes that govern cell growth.

In most cases, the changes that lead to breast cancer begin accumulating after birth, perhaps triggered by some set of environmental stresses, whether random cosmic rays or a dietary factor. Some women, however, start out with the genetic deck stacked against them. Like Burkhardt and her sisters, they stand a greater risk of developing breast cancer, in both breasts and at an earlier age, than other women.

Recent months have brought a series of discoveries about the genetic mutations involved in breast cancer. "Information is accumulating at an astounding rate," says University of Utah geneticist Mark Skolnick.



"A ticking time bomb": after her sisters Jo Ann, left, and Rose, right, were stricken with aggressive breast tumors, Maria Burkhardt opted for preventive mastectomies. "Half the people I talked to said I'd be crazy, but it's not worth waiting for cancer."

Changes in at least two types of genes play a role: those that direct cells to grow and divide; and those that issue commands to halt growth. Much of the research has focused on a growth-enhancing gene on chromosome 17, often referred to as the *HER-2neu* oncogene. An estimated 30% of breast-cancer patients have somehow acquired abnormal quantities of this gene—as many as 50, as opposed to the normal two.

The extra copies are a bad omen. Patients that have them suffer three times the rate of cancer recurrence of other patients, says UCLA oncologist Dr. Dennis Slamon. Such patients, he says, should "absolutely" get further treatment. But one genetic abnormality is not enough to transform healthy, law-abiding breast cells into anarchic tumors. "The genes responsible for this disease are like pieces of a patchwork quilt," says geneticist Mary-Claire King of the University of California, Berkeley. The patchwork pattern may vary from one woman to the next, but each case probably involves five or six separate mutations occurring over a period of years.

Researchers at the Cancer Institute in Tokyo have implicated five genes on four different chromosomes. Dr. Yusuke Nakamura speculates that the loss of a growth-suppressing gene on chromosome 17 may be one of the earliest changes on the road to malignancy. Other groups have also pointed to sites on chromosome 17. Last November a team led by scientists at Mas-

sachusetts General Hospital Cancer Center identified one such gene as the likely cause of Li-Fraumeni syndrome, a rare genetic disorder that increases susceptibility to breast cancer and other malignancies. Since then, King and her colleagues at Berkeley have identified another segment of chromosome 17 that is associated with familial breast cancer. Other researchers, including a group in Strasbourg, France, are unraveling the genetics behind the deadly process of metastasis.

The flood of insights into the genetics of breast cancer will ultimately provide physicians with more effective weapons. This year Dr. Slamon and his colleagues hope to begin clinical trials of a genetically engineered antibody that locks onto the protein made by the *HER-2neu* oncogene, interfering with its function. This antibody has already been shown to inhibit tumor growth in mice.

Researchers like Berkeley's King dream of diagnostic tools powerful enough to identify abnormal genes in breast cells long before they become fully cancerous. Such tools could begin to lift the burden of uncertainty from women who, like Maria Burkhardt, come from cancer-prone families and wonder if they carry the dreaded trait. Someday, if King has her way, tests for breast-cancer genes could become as commonplace as Pap smears. And then, she says optimistically, "no one need die of breast cancer anymore."

—With reporting by James Willwerth/ Los Angeles

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When the Doctor Gets Infected

Medical workers who harbor the AIDS virus may face new rules

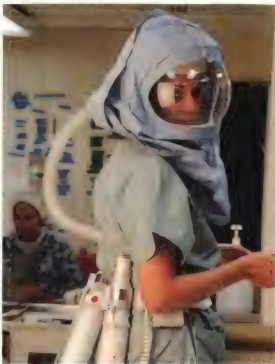
By ANASTASIA TOUFEXIS

Many patients are eyeing their doctors and dentists with growing suspicion these days. The anxiety stems from reports of medical professionals' dying of AIDS and, most alarmingly, of a woman who claims to have been infected with the virus by her dentist during a tooth extraction. Amid the swelling concern and hyped press, the Centers for Disease Control is considering a controversial shift in policy that for the first time would recommend restrictions on health-care workers infected with the AIDS virus.

No one knows how many medical professionals harbor the blood-borne pathogen. But of the 153,000 reported cases of AIDS, about 4% have involved health-care workers, including 1,199 nurses, 679 physicians and 156 dentists and hygienists. Current CDC guidelines suggest that infected workers consult with peers about what duties to perform and that clinics and hospitals decide on a case-by-case basis what restrictions to impose in accordance with their state's rules and policies. Generally, HIV-infected staff members are allowed to practice freely as long as they follow standard infection-control techniques.

The revised guidelines under consideration are primarily aimed at the doctors, dentists, nurses and technicians who perform invasive procedures that require putting a hand holding a sharp instrument inside the body, a definition covering most surgical and dental activities. These operations carry the greatest risk of exposure to contaminated blood. The proposals call for such workers to be tested for HIV infection and, if they prove positive, to refrain from performing invasive procedures unless they have the informed consent of the patient or are faced with an emergency. The new policy would be voluntary, but medical institutions, already skittish about potential lawsuits, could be expected to pressure their staffs to submit to testing and dismiss those who turn up positive.

The possibility of widespread HIV testing, bruited about for months, has stirred fierce opposition. The American Public Health Association, civil liberties groups and unions representing medical workers contend that a policy change at this time is



Suited up for surgery in space-age protective gear

Improving equipment makes more sense than testing.

misguided and scientifically unjustified. "The CDC is not focusing on public health," declares Ruth Finkelstein of the AIDS Action Council, a watchdog group. "It is focusing on public relations. The issue is being framed as one in which doctors are being irresponsible. The fact is that the public health risk from infected medical professionals is infinitesimal."

Several studies have tracked the patients of AIDS-infected doctors and dentists, but to date there has not been a single confirmed case of the virus' being transmitted from a health-care worker to a patient. The Florida incident involving Kimberly Bergalis, 22, who allegedly acquired the virus from her dentist, is still open to question. Federal investigators have not determined how she was exposed to the dentist's blood. Even if the Bergalis case is an instance of doctor-to-patient transmission, the risk is minute when compared with other medical dangers. Says Dr. Julie Gerberding, director of HIV prevention at San Francisco General Hospital: "The chance of a patient's dying from HIV infection from the care providers is many times less than the risk from hospital staph infec-

tion, anesthetic complications or treatment by an inexperienced surgeon."

In fact, there is a much greater chance of a medical worker's being infected by a patient than the reverse. So far, 40 such cases have been documented. Doctors and nurses routinely suffer needle sticks and scalpel nicks that expose them to patients' blood. If the new guidelines force health professionals to be tested for AIDS infection, it would seem only fair to test patients as well. A move that has been rejected by the general medical community as too intrusive and costly.

Firing infected doctors and nurses would destroy their reputations and livelihoods, even though they pose little risk to their patients. Such actions could thus provoke legal challenges. State laws and the Americans with Disabilities Act passed by Congress last year protect workers from discrimination based on handicaps that are not a significant threat to others.

Patient care would suffer too if infected workers are driven from practice. And what is a hospital to do every time an uninfected nurse or doctor suffers a scalpel cut? It can take six months or more for the AIDS virus to show up in tests. "Do they sit out those months?" asks Mark Barnes, policy director of the AIDS Institute, a branch of New York State's department of health. "In large urban settings you could have half the surgical staff waiting it out."

Critics argue that the best way to protect patients and medical workers is to improve infection-control techniques and equipment, something that is needed to guard against not only AIDS but also other potentially deadly blood-borne illnesses like hepatitis B. Basic precautionary measures call for workers exposed to contaminated blood to wear gowns, masks and latex gloves and to discard used syringes in special containers. Medical personnel would like to see continued development of needles that automatically sheathe themselves once they are withdrawn from the skin and flexible scalpels that minimize the chance of accidental cuts. Some operating-room teams have begun to wear protective space-suit-like outfits. Cost: \$575 each.

The goal of a revised CDC policy is commendable enough: to rebuild the trust necessary between doctors and patients. But the agency may be in danger of overreacting. Pandering to fears rather than presenting facts is no way to cure public hysteria.

—With reporting by Lee Griggs/
San Francisco and Dick Thompson/Washington

Art



SELF-PORTRAIT, circa 1623

A Meteor That Didn't Burn Out

The precocious Van Dyck chased the Tudor stiffness out of English painting

By ROBERT HUGHES

King Charles I of England had several court painters, not all equally lucky. Anthony van Dyck was the luckiest of all. But how could one envy, say, Richard Gibson? He was not only a miniaturist but a dwarf who at a court banquet had to skip from a pie and walk the length of the table bearing portraits of the King and Queen he had copied after Van Dyck on playing cards. It cannot have been fun to be this small, if distinct, talent, awaiting his cue in a dark pastry coffin. But to be Van Dyck himself? A different matter.

A child prodigy at 14, a full professional by his early 20s and dead at 42, Van Dyck had one of those careers that is conventionally dubbed meteoric—except that it did not burn out. Which is not to say that he has altogether received his due. In a curious way, Van Dyck remains a somewhat underrated artist, as anyone might if he had to be constantly compared with Rubens, his master, and Titian, his even greater model. Especially, he is not well known to the American public, though some of his finest paintings are in America, owing to the vogue for his portraits among the robber barons of the early 20th century. Those



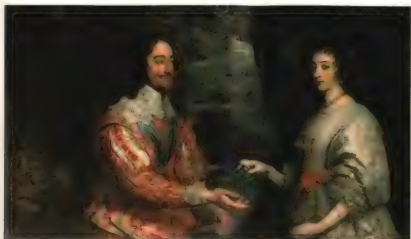
RINALDO AND ARMIDA, 1629

who saw "Van Dyck in England," organized by Oliver Millar for the National Portrait Gallery in London eight years ago, are not likely to forget the impact of its high-strung, cool virtuosity. But the show did not travel to the U.S., and so the Van Dyck exhibition now at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, curated with such care and scholarly zest by three art historians—Susan J. Barnes, Julius S. Held and Arthur K. Wheelock Jr.—offers many people their first proper look at this artist.

Van Dyck covered a lot of territory in his short life. He was Rubens' most gifted assistant in Antwerp, and his early ability to reproduce the style of his idol has led to prolonged squabbles over the attribution of some of his early paintings. What they leave no doubt of is Van Dyck's precocity, the speed with which he metabolized the lessons of his master. In 1620, when he was only 21, he was hired by King James I as a court painter in London. A year later he was in Genoa, painting its nobles and dignitaries, making study trips to Rome, Florence and Palermo. By 1627 he was back in Antwerp, and by 1632 the new English monarch, Charles I, had brought him back to London, knighted him and made him "principalle Paynter in ordi-

nary to their Majesties." For his last 10 years he moved between London, Antwerp and Paris, accumulating honors, commissions and fame. All in all, he was as genuinely international a painter as Rubens had been, though he did not fly at quite the same diplomatic height.

In Washington one gets a full sense of his range, which was very large, from formal to intimate portraiture, from state commemoration to religious allegory. His big religious paintings, mostly for Flemish churches, are bravura performances, but none of them have the trumpeting conviction or the sheer inventiveness of Rubens'. His best paintings were his portraits and his secular allegories, like *Rinaldo and Armida*, 1629, done under the spell of Titian. Taken from Tasso's epic poem *Jerusalem Delivered*, a great favorite at Charles' court, it illustrates the moment when the sorceress Armida falls in love with the wandering Christian knight Rinaldo on glimpsing his sleeping face. The sensuous color, the glow of flesh and even the eyelid of the scene—shot, as it were, from slightly below—recall the Titians and Veroneses that Van Dyck had avidly studied in Venice seven years before; the flutter of Armida's red cloak, a discreet image of erotic turmoil, recalls the love



KING CHARLES I AND QUEEN HENRIETTA MARIA, 1632



HENRY PERCY, 9TH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND, 1633

A REFINED, AIRY STYLE

Van Dyck was a painter's painter, in love with the stuff of the world—from the sensuous glow of his allegories to the interplay between private character and public mask in his sensitive portraits. Overall, he cultivated a grace analogous to the manners and poise of the true gentleman.

god's cloak in Titian's *Bacchus and Ariadne*.

Van Dyck was truly a painter's painter. There is nothing intimidating about his work, as there often is about Rubens'. He loved private character and painted the interplay between that character and the public mask with a sensitivity that few artists have rivaled since. Sometimes he would seem to have done this by guesswork. His 1633 portrait of Henry Percy, "the Wizard Earl" who spent 16 years of his life immured in the Tower of London for his supposed complicity in the Gunpowder Plot, is an icon of saturnine intel-

lect, from the same introspective domain as Robert Burton's *The Anatomy of Melancholy*. But Van Dyck probably never met Percy, who died in 1632; he was working from a younger portrait by someone else.

Van Dyck loved the stuff of the world—the shimmer and exact texture of fabrics (he was, after all, the son of a silk merchant in Antwerp), the brightness of flesh or the passing melancholy that settles on a face, the layering of vapor and light in the sky, the sheen of armor. In this sense of lavishness he was, of course, very much Titian's heir, and it is wonderful to see how much pictorial interest he could

discover in inert substances—particularly the brocades and velvets worn by his sitters—in the course of translating them into patches and trails of pigment on canvas. He endowed the gold damascened parade armor of Emmanuel Philiberto of Savoy with a density of inspection that makes you feel you could lift it off the canvas if the prince were not wearing it.

The mark of Van Dyck's style is its extraordinary refinement, a delicacy that runs counter to what English 17th century taste had come to expect from Holland: "robustious boistroous drunken headed imaginary Gods," as Charles I's agent in Brussels remarked when trying to decide on an artist from whom to commission a story of Cupid and Psyche.

Van Dyck was not given to theorizing, but an intriguing phrase crops up in his scattered writings: he wanted to achieve, he said, *een loecite maniere*, "an airy style." In the process, writes Jeffrey M. Muller in the catalog, he "intentionally formed a style representative of grace." Grace meant facility, apparent ease, but in no superficial way: a style analogous to the poise and manners of the true gentleman, a conception of human character that was forming at the Stuart court even as he worked there and was thought to radiate from the person of the King. Let the French have their *Roi Soleil*, a periwigged divinity; Van Dyck would give the court an iconography of kingship that was, if not exactly informal, at least more humanly accessible.

When Bernini was to do a sculpture of Charles and would not come to England, it was Van Dyck who supplied the "natural" image of the King—three faces, looking left, right and straight ahead—from which the Roman artist was to work. Van Dyck's portraits of Charles and Queen Henrietta Maria fixed them for posterity with a completion that few later artists could rival. They have the subtlest quality of propaganda: they make you forget that they are propaganda. If we think of Charles as the cultivated king par excellence, it is largely thanks to Van Dyck. There cannot be a more tender and intimate royal portrait than his effigy of the couple in conversation in a rocky landscape, their bonding signified by, among other things, their dress—he in pink slashed silk with pale gray showing beneath, she in the same gray with pink ribbons and laces; he giving her an olive twig, she giving him a laurel wreath.

Here and elsewhere in this excellent show, one sees Van Dyck chasing the Tudor stiffness out of painting, inventing the conventions of future English portraiture, the tropes on which Gainsborough, Reynolds and even Sargent would continually draw. The court he served was the most sophisticated one England would ever have. He did not outlive it; it was collapsing as he lay dying at the end of 1641. But Van Dyck had already changed English art decisively, and much for the better. ■

Video

Would It Fool the Family Cat?

The networks learn from their mistakes, and learn, and learn...

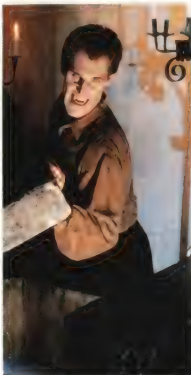
By RICHARD ZOGLIN

It was a disappointing fall for the Big Three networks, but they learned some valuable lessons. For example: while most viewers like cop shows and enjoy a good song, they definitely have no patience for singing cops. Also: even well-done family sitcoms, like NBC's *Parenthood*, are apt to get lost in the current oversupply of cute TV clans. And pouring big money into shows to compete with CBS's Sunday-night powerhouse *60 Minutes* is a fruitless exercise. NBC, at least, seems to have learned that lesson: in February it will introduce *Sunday Best*, a shamelessly cost-efficient variety show that will feature highlights from the previous week's NBC shows.

But the nice thing about network programming is that you never stop learning. This month brings the first big wave of midseason replacement shows, and a whole new series of lessons can be gleaned from the January crop:

The cold war is over; spies should go home. Dylan Del'Amico, the protagonist of ABC's new series *Under Cover*, seemed to have grasped this when he left his field assignment for a CIA-type intelligence agency (known here as The Company) and moved to a desk job in Washington. But those overseas assignments just keep on coming—both for Dylan and for his wife, another ex-agent having a hard time retiring. First, Dylan must thwart a former KGB chief who is plotting to assassinate a popular Soviet reformer. Then, in a hot-off-the-presses story line, he and his colleagues race to stop a renegade Iraqi colonel from launching a biological weapon against Israel. There are folks back at the agency to contend with as well: a new generation of computer jocks who disdain the old-timers, and a slimy acting director who longs for a new Stalin in the Soviet Union to "give us our enemy back."

Well, it might at least give us our spy entertainments back. *Under Cover*, the latest effort from *China Beach* creators William Broyles Jr. and John Sacret Young, updates the cold-war thriller by turning it into a sort of globe-trotting thirtysomething. When these sensitive agents aren't having moralistic arguments over who should or shouldn't be sent on a dangerous assignment, they are worrying about



Cross bares his fangs in *Dark Shadows*

Bloodless plotting, funereal pace.

who's minding the kids. Anthony Denison (*Crime Story*) and Linda Purl are agreeable enough as the spy couple, but the romance founders on dialogue like "You know, I didn't realize you were a blonde until two weeks into our first mission together." Their new mission will be a tough one.

Big stars cannot redeem bad sitcoms.

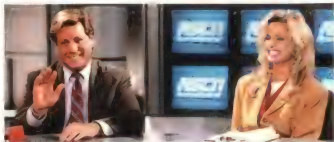
This season has already brought us Burt Reynolds sleepwalking through the overrated CBS comedy *Evening Shade*. Now Farrah Fawcett and Ryan O'Neal have set

back their careers about 10 years (three for her; seven for him) by fronting another grueling CBS entry, *Good Sports*. Fawcett plays Gayle Roberts, a veteran anchor for an all-sports network run by a Ted Turner-like mogul. O'Neal is "Downtown" Bobby Tannen, an ex-football star fallen on hard times, who is brought in to be her on-air partner. Their bickering, *Moonlighting*-style relationship is signaled none too subtly in the opening cast credits: "Farrah Fawcett vs. Ryan O'Neal."

TV shows set in TV newsrooms represent a low ebb of creative imagination, but *Good Sports* may set a record for ineptitude. Creator Alan Zweibel (*It's Garry Shandling's Show*) flicks in a few satirical jabs at TV, but mostly he seems tuned to another channel. The characters are so woefully out of focus that after two episodes one still can't tell whether Bobby is supposed to be simply naive or mentally retarded. Or why Gayle, the TV pro, keeps having spats with him in front of a nationwide audience. Or why, when he rents an apartment directly opposite hers, she doesn't at least draw the shades. Or why... awww, never mind.

Vampires, for all the mayhem they cause, are pretty boring people. It probably sounded like a good idea on paper: *Dark Shadows*, a daytime hit on ABC in the late 1960s, resurrects itself as an NBC prime-time series. Ben Cross (*Chariots of Fire*) plays Barnabas Collins, the mysterious "cousin from England" who shows up at the Collinwood estate and sets about relieving various relatives and townspeople of their red cells. Producer/director Dan Curtis (who did the original show) has given the series a dark, somber look and a high-toned cast that includes Jean Simmons as the Collins family matriarch.

But the new *Dark Shadows* is drained of blood well before Barnabas bares his fangs. The pace is funereal: the plot twists, pure gothic boiler plate. There's the fresh-faced governess who arrives at the mansion to tutor an eerily disturbed child; the slow-witted groundskeeper who is enslaved by the vampire (paging Dwight Frye); the 200-year-old paintings that—*gasp!*—bear a striking resemblance to present-day folk; the baffled reaction of doctors and police to mysterious deaths in the town ("Looks like some kind of wild animal tried to tear her throat out"). Cross has a suave-but-menacing manner so transparent that it wouldn't fool the family cat, and his tortured pleas for sympathy are unconvincing. "I cannot help myself!" he cries at one point. Excuses, excuses.



Out of focus: O'Neal and Fawcett as bickering co-anchors in *Good Sports*

Books

Ice Cubes

THE SECRET PILGRIM

by John le Carré

Knopf; 335 pages; \$21.95

By PAUL GRAY

Attentive John le Carré fans may recognize the narrator of the author's 13th novel. He is Ned (no last name given), the British intelligence official who ran the operation so vividly bungled in the best-selling *The Russia House* (1989). That fiasco was not Ned's fault, to be sure, but he has been punished by his Service superiors



Le Carré at home in Britain

Outtakes from a story already told.

anyhow, unplugged from the power loop and farmed out to teach spycraft to young recruits. On an inspired whim, Ned manages to lure his old mentor, George Smiley, out of retirement to spend an evening talking with these students. As the legendary Smiley reminisces aloud about the past history of the Service, Ned finds himself privately doing the same.

And that arc of Ned's memory is essentially the plot of *The Secret Pilgrim*. The novel has no grand, tantalizing design; the individual adventures that Ned remembers are chiefly connected by the fact that he took some part in them. Readers familiar with Le Carré's multi-volume fictional saga of post-war British intelligence will see in Ned's recollections a series of outtakes from a story that has already been told.

There is nothing inherently wrong with that, provided the new material is interesting. Most of Ned's additions are. Several are

funny, including Ned's attempts as a Service neophyte to tail and protect an oil-rich sheik and his shoplifting wife on spending binges across London's West End. There are tales of betrayal, accidental and cold-blooded. And there is some rough stuff. Ned remembers a beating he had suffered at the hands of a Polish military officer who then, rolling down his sleeves, offered his services as a double agent for the British. Another episode seems a conscious reprise of *Heart of Darkness*: Ned is sent east to find out what happened to an agent who disappeared; he turns up an account of appalling brutality at the hands of the Khmer Rouge, and unbelievable paternal devotion from a father to his half-Cambodian daughter.

Another of the book's blessings is the reappearance of George Smiley, who has not been seen in Le Carré's fiction since *Smiley's People* (1980). In what is basically a walk-on or, in this case, a sit-down role, Smiley retains his enigmatic, nondescript power. At the after-dinner session, introduced by Ned as a "legend of the Service," Smiley tells the expectant students, "Oh, I don't think I'm a legend at all. I think I'm just a rather fat old man wedged between the pudding and the port." Not true, Ned paraphrases the remarks of an extremely clever and thoughtful man: "He scoffed at the idea that spying was a dying profession now that the cold war had ended; with each new nation that came out of the ice, he said, with each new alignment, each rediscovery of old identities and passions, with each erosion of the old status quo, the spies would be working round the clock."

Good reasons exist for hoping that Smiley is wrong, although writers and readers of espionage thrillers may confess to mixed emotions on the matter. In the meantime, *The Secret Pilgrim* bridges a gap between the recent past and the unforeseeable future. No longer able, because of the innate honesty that has characterized his storytelling career, to offer a full-blown cold war drama, Le Carré pops out some discrete and satisfactorily chilling ice cubes. ■

Burning Bright

INDIA: A MILLION MUTINIES NOW

by V.S. Naipaul

Viking; 521 pages; \$24.95

At the end of his last book on India, V.S. Naipaul wrote that the country's survival depended on seeing the past as dead "or the past will kill." In that volume, *India: A Wounded Civilization*, as well as in his earlier work on the subcontinent, *An Area of Darkness*, the Trinidad-born writer of Indian descent scorched the landscape of subcontinent society, indicting the rigidities of a country that preserved the evils of

the Hindu caste system and endured a suffocating bureaucracy. Now Naipaul has returned to India more than 10 years later to discover that the past is being left behind, and far more quickly than he imagined it would be.

India: A Million Mutinies Now is Naipaul's appreciation of how real, individual freedom, first sighted in the distance with India's independence in 1947, has begun to take hold in daily life, to break down the "layer upon layer of distress and cruelty." The result is messy, since those liberties give rise to a "million little mutinies," the colliding trajectories of countymen shaking off the old mind-sets of caste and class. To Naipaul's solidly liberal sensibilities, that turmoil is what marks the road to progress.



V.S. Naipaul

He sees the "many revolutions within that revolution" everywhere. Mr. Ghate, a rough-edged slum dweller and organizer for Shiv Sena, a violent Hindu chauvinist group, displays an inspired streak of social activism and complains in earnest, and in English, about the "absence of civic sense" in his neighborhood.

Subramaniam is a Brahman and scientist whose grandfather was a Hindu priest, once the flamekeepers of reactionary Hindu society. But the next generation of Brahmins, like Subramaniam's father, led India's political-reform movements, and now Subramaniam's own generation, the most accomplished and Westernized to date, is the ironic, not entirely unhappy victim of those reforms. Brahmins are losing out in India's equivalent of affirmative action, while other castes, including the lowest of the low, are at least partial winners. As testament to that transformation, Namdeo Dhasal, a militant *dalit* (untouchable) leader and poet, tells Naipaul, "There was a time when we were treated like animals. Now we live like human beings."

Naipaul has retired the familiar, infuriating, immobile face of India and painted a fresh one of human spirit and dramatic change that should become the new starting point for thinking about the country. What Naipaul does not grapple with is the question of whether India can survive burning so hotly. Hindu-Muslim conflicts are on the rise; violent secessionist movements have paralyzed three states; caste warfare threatens to erupt around the country. Naipaul barely touches on that drift to anarchy, but he helps us understand it. —By Edward W. Desmond/New Delhi



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Books

The Godfather

THE FOURTH K

by Mario Puzo

Random House; 479 pages; \$22

Mario Puzo's classic *Godfather* recipe combined zesty ethnic ingredients with basic American free enterprise. Good and evil were all in the family. Social values were relative, if not hypocritical. Puzo is not your average moralist. He does not pontificate from the high ground. His view of human nature is subterranean, not to say labyrinthine. The twists and turns in his new novel might have easily confused the Minotaur.

But not the modern reader, who will probably be more attentive to Puzo's vivid cynicism and gallows humor than to his gridlock plot. When two nutty M.I.T. students blow up Manhattan's sleazy Times Square area with a miniature A-bomb, it seems as if the author has urban renewal, not tragedy, on his mind.

Elsewhere Puzo is dead serious about the tendency of money and power to corrupt. The Fourth K of the title is President of the U.S. Francis Xavier Kennedy, a fictive cousin of John and Robert's. F.X.K. is a clever invention, but he also shares characteristics with *The Godfather's* Michael Corleone. Both are intelligent young men whose high ideals are tarnished by a brutal world. In fact, it is idealists who cause most of the trouble. When a group of Arab terrorists known as the One Hundred kill the Pope, hijack a jet carrying the U.S. President's daughter and then murder her to demonstrate that they mean business, F.X.K. responds with force. He destroys a gleaming new city in the Middle Eastern country that harbored the hijackers.

The problem is that the city was built with \$50 billion put up by a now upset U.S. businessman. He also belongs to the Socrates Club, whose membership represents the nation's richest and most powerful private citizens. They, too, see F.X.K.'s readiness to sacrifice overseas investments as an expensive precedent.

The aggressive ways in which F.X.K. handles foreign and domestic threats to his presidency and his life allow Puzo to pull out all the stops. Philosophical dialogues about the nature of power, byzantine schemes and even elements of science fiction find their way into the mix. Amazingly, it works. Puzo's inventions may read like a parody of a best-selling thriller, but his characters give off sparks of intelligence and complexity. If some of the principals seem to belong to the Hollywood power structure rather than to the Washington elite, it is undoubtedly because the author knows the entertainment mob far better than the godfathers of government.

—By R.Z. Sheppard

Science

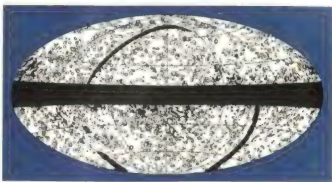
Bang! A Big Theory May Be Shot

A new study of the stars could rewrite the history of the universe

Astronomers trying to piece together the universe's past have two major pieces of evidence with which to work. The first is that the whole thing began with a Big Bang, an explosion of unimaginable heat and power, between 10 billion and 20 billion years ago. The second is that the modern-day cosmos is made up of galaxies. Gravity presumably played a role in the process, but the details are unknown.

For the past decade or so, the best scientific guess about the evolution of the universe has been the cold-dark-matter (CDM) theory, which holds that an exotic, unseen form of matter helped create the galaxies. But a new study of the universe's structure, reported in last week's issue of *Nature*, puts that hypothesis in deep trouble.

Scientists have long known that some kind of dark matter exists. One clue is that many galaxies spin so fast that they should fly apart; the gravity from some unseen extra matter must be holding them together. Studies indicate this material surrounds the Milky Way galaxy in a roughly spheri-



Each circle is a supercluster of galaxies in this satellite-generated map of the cosmos. Black areas were not included in the survey.

cal halo. In regions of the universe where galaxies are clustered, dark matter seems to pervade the space within the clusters. Calculations suggest there is about 10 times as much dark as visible matter. That means that the gravitational pull of dark matter is 10 times as strong. Thus, it must have played an important role in the formation of the universe.

In recent years scientists decided that dark matter is probably made of "cold" (in astronomical jargon, that means slow-moving) subatomic particles. According to theorists, dark matter would have formed

sooner after the Big Bang than ordinary matter did. The dark matter would have created pockets of high density whose gravity would then have pulled in the later-forming ordinary matter. These pockets

would eventually grow into galaxies, and many of the galaxies would drift together into clusters—just the state of the universe today.

But the *Nature* report may have delivered a fatal blow to the theory. British and Canadian astrophysicists, reanalyzing data taken in 1983 by the Infrared Astronomical Satellite, found that superclusters of thousands of galaxies, interrupted by voids some 200 million light-years across, are common in the visible universe. Scientists do not believe the force of cold dark matter

alone could have worked fast enough to create structures so large. Even 20 billion years is not enough time for thousands of galaxies to have clumped together in the way the theory says.

For the CDM hypothesis to survive this crisis would take such complicated physics that the cosmos would have to operate like a Rube Goldberg machine. For the most part, though, nature follows simple rules. So while cold dark matter may exist, astronomers are beginning to search elsewhere to solve the mystery of how the galaxies were born. —By Michael D. Lemonick

Religion

Ouster of an "Anti-Judaist"

Scandal engulfs the chief Dead Sea Scrolls editor

Should a vocal opponent of the Jewish religion be in charge of the most important documents of ancient Judaism to be discovered in modern times? Curiously, not a word about that ugly issue was uttered last week, when the Israel Antiquities Authority fired Harvard Divinity School professor John Strugnell as chief editor of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Ostensibly, the Roman Catholic layman was removed for "health reasons." Nonetheless, Strugnell's distasteful views—and his propounding of them—was a major reason behind his sudden departure.

Strugnell's tenure was jeopardized by a November interview with the Israeli news-

paper *Ha'aretz*, in which the scholar, calling himself an "anti-Judaist," declared that Judaism is a "horrible" religion with "racist" origins that in principle should not exist at all. "The correct answer of Jews to Christianity is to become Christian," said Strugnell, who denies he is an anti-Semite.

Harvard Divinity School's acting dean, Mark Edwards, declared those opinions to be "personally repugnant." Scholars had gossiped about Strugnell's views long before the *Ha'aretz* incident. As *Washington's Biblical Archaeology Review* released English excerpts from the interview, Strugnell's five colleagues on the scrolls team said they had already called for their boss's removal, citing his health problems—among other things, he was known to be a heavy drinker—and unspecified "complications."

Strugnell won the top edi-

torship in 1987 owing to his long involvement with the scrolls. He then faced growing scholarly anger because, 43 years after the first documents were discovered, one-fifth or more of the scrolls are still unpublished and unavailable to academe. His five colleagues on the scrolls team cited the delays as a reason to remove Strugnell, but other experts contend that he has worked to end the logjam.

Despite last week's firing, Strugnell retains scholarly rights to many important scrolls. The project is now under a three-man directorship led by Emanuel Tov of Jerusalem's Hebrew University, who says the new arrangement should "speed things up." But a speedup is not enough for *Biblical Archaeology Review*, which contends that only full access to photographs of unpublished texts will end the "scandal" of neglect. ■



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Essay

Lance Morrow

Old Paradigm, New Paradigm

Paradigm has become a buzz word for theorists of the emerging world. The term, from the Greek *paradeigma*, means an example, a model, a pattern. People in business schools, in think tanks, in the White House, use *paradigm* as a sort of reality thrasher—a way of comparing past and present, an implement for sorting out history at a moment of tumbling global change. *Paradigm* is a buzz word that does not sing, of course, but never mind. Buzz words, being often tricky, insincere or brainless, are part of the Old Paradigm anyway.

The term paradigm, however, is useful, like a Swiss Army Knife. The world, with a surreal, decisive crispness, has been sorting itself into categories of Old Paradigm and New Paradigm. The 1990s have become a transforming boundary between one age and another, between a scheme of things that has disintegrated and another that is taking shape. A millennium is coming, a cosmic divide. The 20th century is an almost extinct volcano; the 21st is an embryo.

New Paradigm—Old Paradigm makes a game of lists: what's in, what's out. More important, it is a way of considering what works (New Paradigm) and what doesn't work anymore (Old Paradigm).

The cold war was the paradigm of the old world order. The New Paradigm is what we are seeking. Communism and socialism are Old Paradigm. Big ideology is dead, and global environmentalism will come more and more alive. "In effect," says Lester R. Brown, president of Worldwatch Institute, "the battle to save the planet will replace the battle over ideology as the organizing theme of the new world order. The goal of the cold war was to get others to change their values and behavior. Winning the battle to save the planet depends on changing our own values and behavior."

Ted Kennedy and Strom Thurmond, let us say, are Old Paradigm, being yin and yang of old wars (New Deal liberalism vs. Dixiecrat conservatism) that seem somewhat beside the point now. American government is not dead, but it cannot proceed as before, on the old model. The long crisis of the Democratic Party has been its struggle to emerge from its once powerful and successful old paradigm and find a new one.

Other Old Paradigms: Fidel Castro, apartheid, the American Century, cigarette smoking, labor unions and strikes, alcohol, CBS News, charisma, knowledge (as opposed to information), blood-feud revenge, corporate loyalty and paternalism,

Northern Ireland, Mario Cuomo (the politician as a Frank Capra movie) and letter writing.

New Paradigm: Vaclav Havel, Cable News Network, information, fax machines, computers, Sam Nunn, the new Germany, pluralism, democracy, F.W. de Klerk, unsentimental ruthlessness, William Safire, the Pacific Rim.

Old Paradigm is not necessarily bad. New Paradigm is not necessarily good.

Old Paradigm and New Paradigm are often blended. Ham-handed, mired stupidity, sheer dumbness, are Old Paradigm. Stupidity is New Paradigm as well, but in a different style (shallow, amoral, empty, ignorant of the past). Television, the medium of the New Paradigm, has a devastating addition to the mediocre that it now and then overcomes.

The New Paradigm in haste and distraction sometimes goes for the simple-minded. Entertainment and news media, for example, find themselves "dumbing down" their content on the strange assumption that their audience, or reality itself, has grown stupider. It is not true, but the idea is pernicious and self-fulfilling: the stupider the public's sources of information, the stupider the public must eventually become.

In George Bush's mind, Old Paradigm and New Paradigm circle each other warily, like father and son fighting it out in a sort of Oedipal struggle. Bush is often New Paradigm in international affairs and Old Paradigm on freighted moral issues like abortion and patriotism, which send him scurrying back toward patriarchal absolutes.

Mikhail Gorbachev? An object lesson in how fragile new paradigms can be, how quickly they can be menaced

by newer ones. Clinging to the Old Paradigm once its time is gone is fatal.

Saddam Hussein and the Persian Gulf? A last spasm, perhaps, of the Old Paradigm—a conflict over natural resources in the way that so many of the wars of the O.P. were fought over land. In the New Paradigm, big land means less than microchips, which contain the new riches. The implications of landscape are environmental and recreational. Power has gone miniature—out of muscle and expanse, into mind. The Soviet Union has endless territory. Japan has little, Hong Kong virtually none.

Yitzhak Shamir and Yasser Arafat are Old Paradigm. The trouble is that there is no New Paradigm for them to migrate to. Not yet, or maybe not ever. Most of the conflicts in the



Essay

world occur because the parties cannot shed themselves of the Old Paradigm and find the new one. It is difficult to run a closed universe on an open and shrinking planet.

In America Ronald Reagan somehow made way for the New Paradigm by allowing the nation to feel for a time innocent again. All of that seems far away now. Reagan took America so far back into its Old Paradigm (a dream of America, a nostalgia for Dixon, Ill.) that it emerged refreshed, if only for a little while. America is Old Paradigm. But the genius of the country, beyond its natural wealth and its Constitution, has been its capacity for self-transformation, for renewal, for improvisation—the gift of old paradigms for begetting new paradigms.

Early in his Administration, George Bush tried to sum up the spirit abroad in the world as the "New Breeze." The phrase evoked not history on the march but a summery mid-afternoon in Kennebunkport, Me. A young White House aide, James Pinkerton, has proposed the "New Paradigm" as the overarching idea, the signature, of the Bush years. We shall see. The President has used the phrase New Paradigm a few times in a glancing way, but the phrase may not be his style. Budget Director Richard Darman mocked Pinkerton's New Paradigm in a speech a few weeks ago ("Brother, can you paradigm?").

Pinkerton, who is only 32, a onetime libertarian, explains paradigms in terms of the Ptolemaic and Copernican models of the universe. The mind, in order to explore and solve problems, must operate upon certain models, certain sets of assumptions. For 13 centuries, humankind assumed, as Ptolemy taught, that the sun revolved around the earth. It was a workable paradigm of the universe, in its way, but became the Old Paradigm when Copernicus propounded the New Paradigm that the earth revolved around the sun.

In Pinkerton's universe, centralized bureaucracy and Big Government are the Old Paradigm. The idea, of course, has been evolving since the abdication of Lyndon Johnson and the dawning realization that the American government does not have endless money to spend. In Pinkerton's New Paradigm, government would be subject to market forces as never before and people would be empowered to make their own individual choices (using school vouchers, for example), while government would be decentralized and decision making pushed down as close as possible to the level of the people affected. Programs would be judged by output rather than input—by results rather than appropriations. The test of the New Paradigm is What Works. It universalizes John Kennedy's definition of politics as the art of the possible.

Or is this New Paradigm, as some say, only a bright intellectual flourish meant to cover the retreat of the Federal Government from almost everything? "No," says Pinkerton, "it is an intellectual construct to make things work. It is a way of thinking about change and making it rational. I have never said we should cut spending. The conventional wisdom around Washington is that nothing works. Americans don't believe it."

The New Paradigm is above all struggling toward a working model for the information age. The great totalitarianisms of the 20th century (Stalin's, Hitler's) depended upon the dic-

tator's power to isolate the people and control their minds by controlling all information. The great work of inspiring the democracies also required heroic manipulations of image and information—by F.D.R., by Churchill, for example. Such leaders gave an eloquence and resonance to the Old Paradigm—a powerful accumulation of moral experience. It is possible to feel wistful sometimes for those profound frames of reference while wandering around in the New Paradigm, which is almost by definition callow. You must not let daylight in upon magic. Now that information is transnational, daylight pours in. Certain shadowy and thunderous effects upon which charisma and old leadership depended have now become impossible. The New Paradigm is not haunted by the furies and ghosts of its parents. It looks upon the world with a disconcerting alien's eye. It is not a sentimentalist.

A fragment of poetry by the Greek Archilochus recorded these enigmatic lines: "The fox knows many things, the hedgehog knows one big thing." In a famous essay, Isaiah Berlin described Tolstoy as a fox who knew many things and Dos-



toevsky as a hedgehog who knew one big thing. The Old Paradigm knew one big thing (centralized government, one organizing ideology, one big idea). The New Paradigm is a fox that accommodates many things—it is decentralized, undoc-trinaire, pragmatic, multifaceted.

When Theodore Roosevelt became President around the turn of the 20th century, he called in architect Charles McKim to remodel the White House. What McKim did, in effect, was to tear the 19th century out of the mansion, knock down the heavy Victorian screens and airless brocaded atmospherics, and let in light—a clean weightless look that at the time seemed stunning. History is filled with regenerations, with new beginnings, new models. Vatican II did such work upon centuries of the Roman Catholic Church, Atatürk upon the dying remnants of Ottoman Turkey.

Regeneration is always cleansing and usually dangerous. The First Law of Wing Walking cautions, "Never let go of what you've got until you've got hold of something else." But sometimes getting to the New Paradigm involves spending a certain amount of terrifying time in midair. And so we are pinwheeling now in black space, trying to figure out whether apocalypse is very Old Paradigm or very New Paradigm. ■

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